FORUM

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Adult education is needed

The Expert in Government

III — HIS CONSTITUENCY

By Mark Starr

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THE contributions by Professor Kraushaar and Professor Beardsley in previous issues of the *Forum* have been valuable and thought-provoking. Frankly, I have only minor suggestions and criticisms to make and no fundamental disagreement with their general conclusions. My main purpose is to discuss how to secure that common sense of an informed people which, as Professor Kraushaar rightly stated, is still the best guide to public policy. How can we get training in active, imaginative citizenship, and secure the establishment of social equality for all useful labor, thus replacing the alternating faith and distrust in the expert as the deliverer or the destroyer of the general welfare?

A stratification of the community based on a hierarchy of skills is as dangerous as one based on birth or economic power. Professor Kraushaar's comments in the opening installment of this discussion on the experts' rôle in a democratic government might well be supplemented by the reminder that when Plato and Aristotle reflected upon the rôle and power to be given to those people possessing special gifts or training, their opinions were inevitably influenced by the fact that slaves provided leisure for the rulers of Greece. Aristotle's view of democracy excluded those whom he assumed to be in a permanently inferior status. (Still he had enough imagination to realize that if some magic power tilled the fields and hewed the stone, then the slaves could be freed from their bondage.) We find an echo of this in the attitude of some Americans who treat the Negro in the same way. But now we have the means to destroy that servile status. All men may become philosophers when the machine reduces the workday.

Further, I think Professor Kraushaar would agree that if our problems are bigger in their extent, we have better ways of tackling them. If only we could use the skills developed by highly powered and highly paid experts in the commercial radio and in the advertising world to educate our people on social issues, then the expert would have an intelligent

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constituency. Too often we transfer the prestige which an expert rightly enjoys in his specialty to his ability in all fields. Henry Ford, as a successful mass-producer of automobiles, is expected to give a worthwhile opinion on history. And the expert on history is expected to have an opinion about the production of automobiles. The author of a best seller is elevated to omniscience. However, if our citizens receive enough general knowledge to make them imaginative participating members of their community, then they would not make the mistake of giving the expert unwarranted prestige outside of the field in which he can be rightly regarded as an authority. And the expert would have general training as a citizen and be aware of his obligations.

Dr. Vannevar Bush, in his report to the President, proposed national scholarships to discover and develop scientific talent and thus insure the future of scientific research, but Dr. Bush and his colleagues were equally insistent upon raising the educational level of the whole population without regard to economic status.

The current general neglect of adult education for active citizenship may well prove suicidal. It still remains the Cinderella among all forms of education. We do not need to plow under our third row of social literacy because we have never tried to plant it. Much of our kept radio is Operation Innocuity, and Hollywood contents itself with distraction and escape.

Much attention is being given to creating technical institutes in our educational plans. We are setting up new institutions, costing millions of dollars, so that artists can, for example, design hats and clothes. At the same time, we refuse anything but a beggarly pittance to help citizens design a social plan capable of weaving together all the facts that we know into a social pattern for the benefit of us all. We have it seems, hardly enough intelligence to be sufficiently afraid of cosmic destruction as presented by atomic energy, let alone enough to use this energy for constructive control over nature for the end of human well-being.

And what could we do for civilization with the energy and skill, the experts and the artists, we use for advertising cosmetics and alcohol? What could we do with the radio in popular adult education if we really cared? Man faces more deadly perils than dandruff—what's *inside* his head is also important. He will survive even if his collar wilts. Men of real distinction should be able to judge something besides whiskey. Good grooming and manners are no substitute for vivid social imagination reinforced by well-informed intelligence. There is a more sinister darkness upon the face of humanity than five o'clock shadow.

Jeremiah's forecast, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge", has lost its meaning, for a super-Hiroshima will reduce even teeth to anonymous dust.

Charm, chatter and national patriotism are not enough! The early cave man could draw delightful mammoths on the corners of his cave, but our modern troglodytes

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will not find wall space because their retreat from the atomic bomb will be decorated with gas masks, fire extinguishers and D.D.T. cans to cope with entomological warfare. We need an antidote for the stink of national self-righteousness. What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole platinum-plated world, full of sleek autos and speedy planes, and lose his own soul?

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Our search for understanding must perforce be international in its approach. Running through the expansion of technical education, there is an alarming undertone. We are, it seems, going to produce technical workers in order to compete more successfully in the markets of the world. And this is the Alice-in-Blunderland world in which we are sellers, never buyers. There is no plan for using the greatly increased powers of productivity and harnessing those great social powers for the benefit of us all. There is much too much talk about competition and too little about cooperation. Nevertheless in the Iceberg Patrol of the North Atlantic, in the international cooperation of scientists to prevent the spread of epidemics, to measure time, to forecast weather, to study the stars, and in the functioning of such agencies as the International Postal Union, we have good examples of brilliant men and women from every race and nation uniting to help humanity and not to beat each other down.

CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT

We need, therefore, more experts in international cooperation; experts with a social conscience; and those skilled in human engineering who will be able to use consciously the collective agencies of public administration and government. For no one can deny that government has to be a more important factor in our daily life. There is a growing recognition that a government of checks and balances cannot make a constructive contribution to social welfare and cannot meet an emergency situation. In an actual war crisis, we confer executive powers upon the President, but normally much valuable time is consumed in the rivalry between the Senate, the House of Representatives and the President. Why should we not have the training of experts in government who would help us reorganize and adapt our political mechanism? No one can maintain that the government which suited the Founding Fathers can meet the needs of 1946. Our ideas of the rôle of government are undergoing fundamental revisions because government has become, more than ever, everybody's business. We all must become politicians to destroy the old-time evil connotations of that term when we could afford the luxury of misgovernment.

I am not sure whether Professor Beardsley, in his references to *Wings Over Europe,* harbors the wish that our physicists would take over the United Nations organization. They themselves show no desire to imitate the playwright's creations, but they have developed a social consciousness at a rapid rate and are exceedingly anxious to work in conjunction with every section of the community. In other words, the experts are anxious to translate

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their findings into a language which the common people can understand. The nature of their findings, as exemplified by nuclear fission, has made it impossible for them to be, as in the past, unconcerned about the results of their discoveries. The scientific experts cannot allow mankind to commit suicide as a result of misuses of advances which their discoveries have made possible.

I believe we shall be able to develop experts in social psychology. We are beginning to understand human nature and its motivation and the relation between the individual and his group. We are beginning to secure facts about our economic life which will help us to direct consciously the social forces at whose mercy we have hitherto been. Democratic society with freedom to think and speak, with respect for the integrity of the individual and for minority opinion, is more likely to produce scientific discoveries. The atomic bomb was not discovered by the totalitarian powers. Surely the same brains which split the atom will be equal to unite society in the face of that impact, although more persons will be involved and our methods are less developed to secure social changes by consent. The end and the means are integrated; the nature of the result is determined by the process of its making. We cannot expect scientific experts to present us with conclusions and never let us have a say about their results. The expert outside his specialty is also a citizen who will share in the general education of us all as broad-gauge members of our community.

Another phase of this problem is the shift from a territorial to a functional democracy. There is no reason why we cannot supplement our present Congress with an Industrial Congress, composed of labor and management, with our citizens grouped in various interests and professions according to what they do rather than where they live. In the public corporations which are being set up increasingly, the expert with a social conscience is already able to give his best specialized knowledge and yet be sure that this knowledge will not be stifled but will be utilized for the benefit of the community. Unless we deliberately stimulate, by an intensified use of all our modern mass media, the continuing process of adult education for citizenship on a national and world-wide basis, both the expert and community will suffer from confusion and be at cross-purposes.

● "Rock a Dry Baby"—slogan chosen by Paul Howells and Lorin Moench, owners of a diaper laundry.

● A young veteran became a father while he was overseas. The last time he had met a baby was when he was 14. His mother had presented him with a sister.

He was ill prepared for the whole experience and the baby only made it worse. Every time he came near her, she screamed. One day his wife was busy when the baby began to cry.

"Will you pick her up, dear?" his wife called.

The bashful father was heard to coo in the tenderest tones: "There, there! Come to brother!"

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Evidence of collaboration

Mikhailovitch: German Testimony

By Melvin Kranzberg

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IN New York City, a Commission of Inquiry sat and heard evidence proving conclusively that General Draja Mikhailovitch and his Chetniks had fought against the Germans. In Belgrade, a court heard evidence that Mikhailovitch collaborated with the Germans. The American public, having looked at the distinguished names which made up the Committee for a Fair Trial for Draja Mikhailovitch and read the confused and contradictory testimony which came out of Belgrade, have probably decided that the Belgrade trials had no validity whatsoever and that, in the light of the evidence presented in this country, Mikhailovitch should have been cleared of the charges of treason brought against him by the Yugoslav government.

Unfortunately, while the American people are right in believing that Mikhailovitch had fought against the Germans and that the trials in Belgrade were subject to grave doubts, they are wrong in thinking that the Chetnik leader was innocent of the charges against him. How, one may well ask, can one state in the same sentence that Mikhailovitch both fought against the Germans and collaborated with them? The answer is to be found in the fact that in the Balkans, as elsewhere, politics is dynamic, not static; complex, not simple. The only historical law on which we can reach any sort of unanimity is that everything does change. This law of constant change extends to the Balkans as it does to the countries of Western Europe and to America. Furthermore, the political life of the Balkans is so complicated that it does not lend itself readily to the simple black-and-white interpretations of which we Americans are so fond. We find it difficult to believe that someone can be both for and against us or neither of the two. If we drop this preconception and realize the dynamic nature of Balkan politics, it will not prove so utterly inconceivable that, while at one time Mikhailovitch conducted an active struggle against the Germans, at another time and under a different set of circumstances, he and his forces actively aided his erstwhile foes.

What evidence do we have of this dual aspect of Mikhailovitch's activities? In the first place, it must be agreed that the testimony which the Americans gave in behalf of the Chetnik general before the Commission of Inquiry of the Fair Trial Committee was, within the limits of the knowledge of the witnesses, true. The Committee and the witnesses were men of honesty and repute who had always held strongly

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to truth and justice and who had no political axe to grind in this affair. Secondly, it must be admitted that any testimony given in Belgrade was suspected because of the refusal of the Yugoslav government to allow the United States to send witnesses who might aid the condemned general. Tito's machinations in the whole affair smacked of the well-known Soviet technique employed so effectively in the Moscow trials, as Miss Dorothy Thompson has pointed out. Therefore, it was reasonable to assume that any evidences of Mikhailovitch's treason produced in Belgrade had a strong political bias, and that various evidence which might weaken the state's case had been suppressed for political or other reasons having very little to do with the case according to the standards of Western justice. Thus the Belgrade trials were probably conducted more with an eye to the various political effects which the Yugoslav government wanted to achieve rather than with the sincere purpose to mete out justice to the alleged traitor.

Nevertheless, there exists ample evidence as to both sides of Mikhailovitch's actions from men who were in a position to know and who today have no apparent interests in the question of his guilt. This evidence comes from the Germans themselves, the ones against whom the Chetniks fought and with whom they collaborated. Surely the knowledge of German generals and foreign office officials, who were actively involved in Balkan affairs during this period, will be able to shed much light on this matter. I have had the opportunity to acquire this information as a result of conversations with these men shortly after V-E Day, at a time when Mikhailovitch was still uncaptured and when there was no reason to believe that a man's life or a nation's politics would be involved.

FIGHT AGAINST GERMANS

A brief review of the evidence obtained from these authorities indicates that Mikhailovitch first fought against the Germans. Immediately after the conquest of Yugoslavia, that unfortunate country had been divided into two spheres of influence, an independent state headed by Pavelic, formed in Croatia, and coming under Italian control and a puppet-government formed in Old Serbia under Nedic. General Mikhailovitch, loyal to the Serb monarchy, termed Nedic a "traitor" and embarked upon a campaign against the Germans who were supporting the Nedic government. Pavelic, aided by his private army of militant Croat nationalists, the *Ustasha,* set about persecuting the Greek Orthodox Serbs who lived within the boundaries of his state. This led to an extension of the Chetnik movement to Croatia. There, too, the Chetniks came into conflict with the Germans who were forced to support the *Ustasha* when Italy dropped out of the war and Pavelic became the creature of the Nazis.

With the entrance of Tito and his Partisans into the fray, Mikhailovitch, conducting an active campaign against both the *Ustasha* and the Germans, acquired another enemy for his conservative leanings were such as to make him resist bitterly any attempt to impose Communist control over Serbia. Thus, for a

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time, Mikhailovitch was fighting against both the Partisans and the Germans, after an initial period of cooperation with the Partisans. So far the Chetnik leader could not be said to have collaborated with the Germans, but, as Tito's strength increased, Mikhailovitch's anti-Communist feeling so overcame any aversion he had to the new rulers of Serbia that he entered into a period of active collaboration with his former enemies. The information given by the Germans shows clearly the development of Mikhailovitch's position from active foe to helpful friend of the Nazi forces.

GERMAN EVIDENCE

Field Marshal Max von Weichs, Commanding General of German Army Group F in the Balkans from 1943 to May, 1945, pointed out that Mikhailovitch and his troops had first fought against the German occupation troops "out of loyalty to their king." "At the same time," he stated, "they fought against Tito because of anti-Communist convictions. This two front war could not last long . . . Consequently, Mikhailovitch showed pro-German leanings." In a discussion of German tactics employed against guerilla warfare in the Balkans, von Weichs made the very revealing statement that "Germany welcomed Mikhailovitch's support. Chetnik reconnaissance activities were highly valued by our commanders."

This evidence of Chetnik collaboration with the Germans is further borne out by Kurt von Kamphoevener, who acted as Liaison Officer of the German Foreign Office with Army Group "East" in Zagreb in 1945, and by Conrad von Schubert, Secretary of the German Embassy in Zagreb from January, 1943, to May, 1945. Kamphoevener stated that initially there was no cooperation between Mikhailovitch and the Germans or their puppet, Nedic. When Mikhailovitch actively adopted Nedic's stand against Communism, however, agreements were made between local Chetnik representatives and Nedic, as well as with the German authorities. Those frequently included "gentlemen's agreements" whereby Chetniks were allowed by the Germans to operate unmolested in certain areas and were permitted to "loot" German supply trains. Kamphoevener also recalled, from his experience in the G-2 Section of the Second Panzer Army prior to his liaison work, that an armistice covering Old Serbia and the Sanjak had been made early in 1944 between the Chetniks and a German *Abwehr* (Intelligence) officer, and that this agreement was later extended.

The testimony of Brigadier General Milan von Dessovic, Croatian Military Attaché to Germany and Slovakia from 1943 until the collapse, and a man who bears no love either for Mikhailovitch or Tito, corroborates that of the others. He declared that Nedic had wanted peace in Serbia, and, since Chetnik activities had created unrest, the puppet governor had objected to Mikhailovitch's movement. Later, due to an understanding or for other reasons of which Dessovic is not aware, Mikhailovitch confined his activities mainly to the "Croatian Area". Differences between the Chetnik leader and puppet ruler

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were minimized. Dessovic believed that Nedic and Mikhailovitch maintained contact with one another, and he claims to have positive knowledge that the Chetniks and German authorities worked together as early as October, 1942.

Lieutenant General Glaise von Horstenau, German General Plenipotentiary in Croatia, was certainly in a position to view the situation authoritatively, and his statements are in agreement with our other witnesses. He further pointed out that the Italians, evidently playing a game of divide-and-rule even in their own puppet state, renewed the movement of the Greek Orthodox Chetniks in Croatia and sometimes supported them against the *Ustasha,* the instrument of their own puppet, Pavelic. The Germans attempted to remain neutral in the midst of these plots and counterplots, but when the Greek Orthodox rebels, encouraged by the outbreak of the Russo-German war, ambushed two German ambulances east of Serajevo in September, 1941, the Germans were forced to combined action with the *Ustasha,* whom they ordinarily despised and distrusted because of the terror and unrest which they caused. Thus, the Germans were drawn into the civil war in the fall of 1941 on the side of the Croats against the Chetniks.

The situation changed again with the entrance of Tito into the picture; the Germans sensed immediately that Tito was the strongest opponent and devoted their chief effort to fighting against his forces. When the Italians withdrew after being forced out of the war, Horstenau stated that the Germans "were forced to collaborate with the Serbian Chetniks". This, of course, caused a great deal of friction with the Croats, and it is indicative of the complicated nature of Balkan diplomacy in that the Germans found themselves supporting two mutually hostile groups in opposition to a third.

GERMANS VS. PARTISANS

Von Weichs also had a word to say regarding the strange position of the Germans when they found themselves committed to support both the *Ustasha* and the Chetniks against the Partisans. "After Italy's surrender," he stated, "Germany was more at liberty to take political action in Croatia. The severe nationalism of the *Ustasha* and their fanatical hatred of the Serbs, however, proved to be disturbing factors. Volunteer Serbian units, the Chetniks, who had fought alongside the German Army, suffered heavily from *Ustasha* persecutions when Tito's forces made them retreat into Croatia. Under pressure of Croatian persecution, groups of Chetniks were formed in the eastern part of the country. They were anti-Communist and pro-Serbian. The German Army, obliged to protect these Chetnik units, came into continuous conflict with the Croatian government. Wounded Chetniks were frequently kidnapped from German hospital trains and were then murdered. At other times, Chetnik troop transports were ambushed and destroyed. Germany continued to support the *Ustasha* in face of these difficulties because of its firm opposition to

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Communism and to Tito's Partisans."

There can thus be no doubt that the Chetniks and Germans were collaborating fully by the end of the war, but the question may arise as to whether Mikhailovitch was personally responsible for this cooperation or whether it was primarily a series of local agreements made at the lower levels of command by Chetnik leaders who did not bear too great a responsibility toward their commander-in-chief because of the necessarily dispersed and irrregular character of guerilla warfare. According to our informants, Mikhailovitch must bear full blame for these collaborationist activities. Speaking of the Chetnik general, Field Marshal von Weichs stated, "With his able and flexible political and military leadership, he was able to control his commanders in the complex situation which had arisen. He alternately fought against the *Wehrmacht,* against Tito, or together with the *Wehrmacht* against Tito's Partisans. It was a three-sided battle which created great difficulties for German military and civil administration. As Tito's strength increased, Mikhailovitch turned more and more towards the Germans. Towards the end of the war, he and his 50,000 Chetniks retreated to Croatia with our forces." As far as Mikhailovitch's personal rôle in the negotiations leading to the collaboration is concerned, all our witnesses were in agreement with von Weich's statement that "Mikhailovitch liked to remain in the background and leave such affairs up to his subordinates." But they were equally positive that Mikhailovitch had knowledge of all the collaborationist dealings and approved of them.

To what motives may we ascribe this collaboration? Here again the German authorities are in substantial agreement that Mikhailovitch did not work with the Germans because he liked them especially or was pro-Nazi; Mikhailovitch collaborated with the Germans because he disliked them less than he disliked Tito and his Partisans. His aim was to bide his time with this play of power "until an Anglo-American landing would provide sufficient support against Tito," according to von Weichs. Kamphoevener also credited Mikhailovitch with the same motives, stating that shortly before the capitulation of Germany, representatives of Nedic, Mikhailovitch, the Slovene Kingdom Party and the Croat Peasant Party met in Ljubljana and Zagreb to form a united front against Communism, these meetings being held with the tacit approval of the German authorities. At that time, according to the former German Foreign Office official, both Nedic and Mikhailovitch were hoping that the Western allies would take over control of former Yugoslavia, and both claimed that they had established contact with the Western allies. Tito and Communism were their common enemies.

Evidently, Mikhailovitch had allowed himself to be deluded with the same hope to which the Germans had clung throughout the war, namely, that a wedge would be driven between the Eastern and Western allies. Unfortunately for

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Mikhailovitch, this breach is now developing between the East and the West, but it is too late to be of any help to him, except for such ineffectual gestures as those made by the New York Commission of Inquiry. Nevertheless, it is just such episodes as the handling of his trial, even though it is only a minor detail in a much larger picture, which is making the chasm between Russia and her satellites and the Western powers ever wider.

Miss Dorothy Thompson, writing dramatically in behalf of the Committee for a Fair Trial for Draja Mikhailovitch, had exhorted us to let "the facts come out straight". The facts are evident, and it is equally important that our interpretation of these facts be straight. The question is not whether Mikhailovitch was pro-Ally or pro-Axis, because he was neither; he was pro-Serb monarchy and, as a corollary of that, anti-Communist. To serve his first aim, he originally fought against the Germans; to achieve his second purpose, he was later forced to collaborate with them. His hope throughout was that the Western allies would enter the Balkans, bringing about a restoration of the Serb monarchy and thereby preventing the establishment of Communism in Yugoslavia. Much of the testimony presented in New York and which Miss Thompson has demanded be heard is to the effect that the Chetniks saved and harbored downed American flyers. While Mikhailovitch's attitude in this is to be commended from the American point of view, it certainly did not interfere in any way with his collaboration with the Germans, and that, after all, is the issue at stake in Belgrade. For Miss Thompson's views, see *Forum*, August, 1946.

• As the chaplain passed through the garment factory of a prison, he noticed a convict sewing mail bags.

"Good morning", the clergyman said, "Sewing?"

"No, father", the man replied with a grim smile. "Reaping."

• An elderly Pollyana liked to spread "sunshine" among the inmates of a prison. Stopping outside the cell of a "lifer", she said cheerily:

'Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

"No", the convict answered wearily. "But they help, lady, they help."

• Ilya Ehrenburg's description of a dinner meeting: "At first everyone hurriedly chews his chicken, then the speakers make long speeches, then some singer sings a sentimental song, after which the parson goes around with the plate for a charity collection. He announces the names of the most munificent givers: 'Mr. Smith sacrificed $500' . . . Everybody claps and Mr. Smith gets up and bows."

• Russian soldiers quizzed in Berlin said that they were annoyed by the average American soldier's "eternal gum chewing". The Eisenhower jacket they found "horrible" and the rocking gait of the American soldier was thought "unmanly". The G.I.'s gum-soled shoes reminded them of gangsters.

(We wish all our international differences could be expressed in such specific terms!)

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An investigation of the rise in mental illness

Dikes Against Mental Diseases

By Ed Ritter

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A VILLAGE on the banks of a mighty river was partially destroyed by flood every few years. Its rescue organizations usually came too late with too little help, but optimistic fishermen always built new huts in the damaged areas. The village became a city. Multiplying warehouses, fish canneries and workers' dwellings near the shore introduced a congestion and a panic during the floods that rendered the people ever more helpless and the rescue organizations ever more inadequate.

Not only were more and more people swept into the angry river, but a larger *proportion* of the citizens were lost. Bigger and better rescue organizations were a chronic need that the city council sometimes recognized grudgingly and sometimes failed to recognize.

But why did not the council study the habits of the river and set to work on dikes of appropriate strength to protect the citizens?

Why do we spend only one fortieth as much of our public funds on the dikes of mental hygiene as we do for our mental hospital rescue organizations—inadequate as those organizations are?

With ever-increasing demands being placed on our mental hospitals, common decency indicates improved facilities and personnel for the humanitarian rescue work of these institutions. At the same time, common sense indicates stronger dikes against the ravages of mental diseases. As of last year, residents of only the largest cities had access to the 227 mental hygiene clinics and the 127 child-guidance clinics that were in operation in the United States. Only a handful of the mental hospitals were equipped to do research.

What is the importance of the trend in the incidence of mental diseases in the United States? The newest Census Bureau report on mental hospital admissions shows the highest rate of first admissions per 100,000 population in history. Do the rising rates indicate a relative rise in the incidence of these ills? Or do they merely reflect expanding and improving hospital facilities?

The first census of the mentally ill in which we may place any confidence was made in 1880. That year the Census Bureau supplemented its institutional figures with a special schedule mailed to physicians. In round figures, there were then 40,000 mentally ill in institutions and 50,000 being confined or cared for otherwise. This total brought the rate to 183.3 per 100,000 population.

There followed a decisive movement to segregate and institution-

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alize mental patients. Laws were passed prohibiting their admittance to almshouses. The idea that the mentally ill should be given special care gained ground. By 1904, the institutional population alone came to a rate (183.6) greater than the 1880 rate for all who were known to be mentally ill. The Census Bureau interpreted this sharp rise in terms of "the modern tendency toward a concentration of the insane in special institutions".

Between 1904 and 1943, the mental hospital population rate climbed rather steadily to 366.7. Rates of first admissions rose from 75.4 to 86.7 in 1943. It is no longer easy to attribute all this increase to expanding hospital facilities and changing public attitudes toward institutionalization. Landis and Page claimed, in 1938, that "the increase in incidence rates . . . for 1910-35 . . . provides no particular ground for concern," but a later study by Malzberg provides strong evidence that the rising rates are highly significant.

There is, of course, an interrelationship between rates of admission and quality of hospital care. Comparing rates of first admission by regions with quality of patient care by regions, (as measured by public expenditure per patient), we find a rough correlation.*

But any given region's high rates of admission cannot be accounted for entirely in terms of its wealth and high quality of patient care. For instance, there's another explanation of the fact that New England's rate of first admissions was almost double the East South Central States'. New England's urbanized living produces mental illness at almost twice the rate that the slow-moving rural life of East South Central States produces it, and New Englanders have, therefore, become almost twice as alert to the necessity of adequate hospitalization. Neither explanation is entirely true. The question as to which factor controls the correlation could easily drop into the slippery etiological track on which the egg-chicken question has spun motionlessly through the ages.

Because of these variables that endanger our conclusions from overall United States census figures, Dr. Malzberg's study of trends in the incidence of mental disease in New York State is of great value. As he points out, New York has provided reputable institutional care for the mentally ill for a century;

*

	First admissions to state hospitals per 100,000 population	Expenditure per patient
New England	93.4	$396.27
Pacific	81.6	334.99
Middle Atlantic	79.7	403.47
United States	64.9	335.84
South Atlantic	62.7	310.94
East North Central	59.3	338.94
West South Central	49.8	227.24
West North Central	49.4	263.92
Mountain	49.2	337.76
East South Central	47.8	202.61

Compiled from information in United States Department of Commerce's report: "Patients in Mental Institutions—1943" published 1946, pp. 13 and 160.

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public attitudes toward institutionalization have been relatively stable for several decades and standardized data have been kept since 1890.

The study showed that New York first admissions per 100,000 population had risen from 61.1 to 85.8 in the 26 preceding years. The rise had persisted in the face of increasing activities of outpatient clinics and social workers' efforts to facilitate home care for more patients. "Clearly," says Dr. Malzberg, "increased capacity cannot explain the growth in the rate of first admissions." For many decades, New York had never rejected patients for lack of facilities. Nor could rising admission rates be attributed to a trend toward sending senile grandparents off to institutions. Admissions with senile psychoses rose much more slowly, for instance, than did those with arteriosclerotic disorders. Dr. Malzberg's conclusion was that the rising admission rates reflect a distinct increase in the incidence of mental disease.

It should be noted in passing that our mental institutions are not being equipped for the heavier responsibilities implied by this conclusion. According to the latest United States mental hospital census, state institution population is 38,980 in excess of total state institutional capacity—an overcrowding of 10 per cent. The year before, overcrowding had been nine and one-half per cent; and the preceding year, nine per cent. Meanwhile institutional personnel dropped from 173.9 per 100,000 patients in 1941 to 147.4 in 1943. These statistics mean human degradation and pain among the patients in our institutions.

In *The Snake-Pit,* Nurse Vance tells Miss Sommerville that the patient is checking out.

" 'That will make room for another one,' said Miss Sommerville, 'but they'll send us more than one. They always do. And we're so overcrowded already. I just don't know where it's all going to end.'

"Miss Vance snapped the large suitcase shut. 'I'll tell you where it's going to end. When there's more sick ones than well ones, the sick ones will lock the well ones up.'

"Miss Sommerville frowned. 'I'm not sure they'll like it here,' she said doubtfully."

WHY AN INCREASE

Why is mental disease increasing? What are its causative factors? Which causes are constant and which are operating in such a way as to produce the increase? The answers to these questions should throw light on the problem of building the dikes against the danger.

Heredity is no longer considered an important direct cause of mental disease. In only two common disorders—schizophrenia and the maniac-depressive psychosis—is there any significant hereditary basis. Less than 10 per cent of the schizophrenia patients and only 15 to 32 per cent of the manic-depressive patients descend from parents with these disorders. Marriage rates and fertility among persons who become mental patients are low and the incidence of parenthood after first admission to an institution is extremely low. Authorities are moving toward agreement that higher incidence rates of mental

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diseases do not reflect an increase in defective family stocks. The benefits of sterilization would be almost negligible at best.

But heredity *is* an important underlying factor in the constitutional traits that are predisposing to mental illness. To the psychiatrist, the study of his patient's constitutional makeup—the unique complex of his temperament and physique—is of utmost importance.

Age is another constant factor affecting the individual's resistance to mental disorders. As he undergoes changes — endocrinological, neurological and physiological — he tends to become susceptible to a gamut of mental ills. They attack him in this order: schizophrenia—median age, late twenties; psychoneuroses and manic-depressive psychosis, late thirties; general paresis and alcoholic psychoses, middle forties; involutional pyschoses, early fifties; arteriosclerotis, late sixties; and senile psychoses, over seventy.

Early psychological influences on the individual profoundly affect the soundness of his personality and, hence, his resistance to mental disorders. Studies of mental breakdowns among service men in the recent war suggest certain types of childhood emotional influences that were predisposing factors. The special validity of these army and navy studies is that many variables which would have obtained among civilian patients (diet, living conditions, age, sex) were eliminated.

Commander J. L. Henderson and Major Merrill Moore, after conducting a study of 200 neuropsychiatric cases in a United States hospital in the Pacific concluded that, "in attempting to analyze predisposing conditions, the most important factor was found to be a disturbance in the family background. This was strikingly constant in almost every case." Of the 200 men, only four per cent had what the investigators considered normal homes; the others came from homes distorted by death, divorce or a neurotic parent.

Home influences which cause children to consider themselves different from their playmates or which foster an abnormal attachment to either parent are often bases for personality traits that later lead to disorders.

A study of 33 men who developed acute schizophrenic disturbances after being inducted into the army (but before combat) indicates a set of personality traits and a set of social-dynamic factors which—when interacting—appeared to be associated with schizophrenia. The personality characteristics appearing most often in the groupings of patients were: "quiet", "shy (reserved)", "sensitive" and "timid". The social-dynamic factors appearing most regularly were "economic stress" and "pushed by family"; next greatest frequency: "hostility": "attachment" and "isolation."

While there are obviously predisposing factors that cause some men's minds to break down and others' to withstand the effects of war stresses, we should not lose sight of this immediate cause. "Military service, in itself, could not be said to be the cause of the disabilities in the majority of our cases," concluded Rosenberg and Lambert in their study of 200 psychotic and neuro-

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psychiatric cases among servicemen. The implication is clear that war strain is associated with the onset of an unknown minority of the breakdowns.

There is little reason to believe that the anxieties of war sent any considerable number of civilians to mental hospitals. The Census Bureau attributes the relatively abrupt 1943 rise to a "sharp increase" among veterans. There was no upsurge of admissions following the first World War, the heaviest increases in recent decades coming between 1934 and 1937.

As most mental ills are insidious and gradual in onset, the relative importance of the various social causes of frustration and breakdown is difficult to measure. Although economic stress is a factor often associated with mental disorders, the 1929 depression did not write itself in any apparent way upon the record of institution admissions.

It is a psychological commonplace that hate and fear have a deleterious effect on mental health, but authorities point out that the manifestations of these toxins are more likely to be found in neurotic behavior than in psychotic breakdowns. It is also to be remembered that sanity, like all conditions, is relative. Following the Black Death, a disorder known as "the dancing mania" seized thousands of people throughout Western Europe. Victims danced wildly until they fell into violent convulsions. In calmer times, any person thus affected would have been put in chains. As we have seen in recent years, when all the members of the community suffer the psychological consequences of hate and fear, much behavior that would ordinarily be judged neurotic passes as hardly abnormal.

Although lack of standardized world data obviates proof of their existence, it is interesting to speculate on possible cultural factors in the incidence of mental illness.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Kilton Stewart, former Research Fellow, Union Medical College, Rockefeller Institute, Peiping, China, attributes what he considers the West's relatively high incidence of schizophrenia to the emphasis of our education. He believes that we are developing intellect at the expense of emotional unity. When an unsocialized aspect of the child's personality causes him to resist the intellectualizing routine we prescribe, we condemn the child instead of identifying the anti-social tendency and turning it to good account. "It is now becoming evident," Mr. Stewart writes in *Mental Hygiene,* July, 1943, "that this type of education is filling our psychopathic hospitals . . . It is time that we thought less about . . . mental tests and more in terms of emotional integration."

Although authorities are divided on the point, there is strong evidence associating the competitive and industrial aspects of Western living with our increasing incidence of mental illness. What about the mechanization that has separated man's personality from his work—that has changed man from a craftsman to a laborer? The implication suggests a reason as to why mental diseases didn't become an important social problem until after the indus-

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trial revolution. It helps explain why—in occupational comparisons—high admission rates are associated with the unskilled worker class. It may be a factor in the circumstance by which institution admission rates are twice as high in the urban population as in the rural.

The significance of the high urban rate is sometimes discounted by the claim that institutional facilities are more available in the city than in the country and that rural living is more conducive to home-care of mental patients. While these considerations are not to be ignored, various studies prove that the actual incidence of mental disease is significantly greater in urban than in rural areas. It has been shown that admission rates increase with each zone as we move from the periphery to the heart of a city. The Malzberg study showed that admission rates correspond with the size of the city. Cities of 2,500 to 10,000 have first admission rates of 87.6; cities of 100,000 to 200,000 have rates of 106.6. The residents of a city of 10,000 would probably find their state hospital as accessible as would the residents of a city of 200,000.

INDUSTRIAL FACTORS

The implication is strong that the monotonous assembly line and the factory's pressure for speed are dangerous to man's mental balance.

"I have seen workers smash their machines sheerly out of frustration and desperation," writes Clayton W. Fountain in *Mental Hygiene,* January, 1945. "I have seen fights break out in the plant because of tension and strain arising out of job dissatisfaction and monotony. I have gone with my fellow workers to the beer joints at the end of the shift to ease with alcohol the strain of fast, monotonous labor. . . ."

Some other aspects of urban living—its impersonality, its specializations and its divorcing the individual from Nature—may also be pertinent.

The preachments of Monsignor L. G. Ligutti ("I tell you God never intended man to raise a family in a tenth-floor apartment"), Ralph Borsodi ("cumulative industrialization must involve a cumulative degradation of labor") and the other decentralists have important truths of mental hygiene on their side.

Because woman's place in society has in a limited way protected her from the shattering influences of mechanized labor and keen competition in the struggle for existence, it is not surprising that the 1943 institution census shows 137½ men being admitted for every 100 women. Woman's greater life expectancy, of course, supports the possibility that she enjoys a biological superiority over man in respect to her resistance to physical and mental diseases.

Of interest—although it suggests no ready panacea for reducing mental ills—is the consideration of marital status as a factor in mental illness. In their study of schizophrenia in the armed forces, the Malamuds considered it "a striking feature. . .that a large proportion of all the patients [had] no history of any sexual activity at all."

Most authorities believe that the markedly lower rates of mental illness among married people are to be explained chiefly on other

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grounds than the beneficial effects of matrimony. The conspicuously low rates of admissions for alcoholism and general paresis among married men, however, indicate that marriage tends to safeguard the male in these particulars. In general, marital status has less influence on female than on male admissions. The Landis and Page studies show 46 per cent fewer married men among first admissions than among the general male population and only 26 per cent fewer married women as compared to the general female population.

The most important circumstance in the correlation between marital status and mental illness appears to be that there are pre-pyschotic personality traits that often prevent the marriage of persons who are likely to become mental patients. Schizophrenia, for instance, is long preceded by such traits as carelessness about personal appearance, negativism, shyness and seclusiveness—all of which reduce its victims' chances of finding mates. On the other hand, the manic-depressive, psychoneurotic and involutional melancholia group shows few unfavorable pre-psychotic symptoms. These illnesses are almost as prevalent among the married as among the general population.

Some states' failure to provide care for the ill among their Negro populations obviates any sound conclusion that might be drawn from United States statistics on Negro-white comparisons. In New York institutions, however, where Negroes are admitted on the same basis as whites, a three-year compilation of first admissions revealed that the Negro rate was exceeding the white rate at a 2 to 1 ratio.

It would indeed be surprising if the emotional frustrations suffered by minority groups did not produce relatively high incidence of mental disorders among those groups. The economic and psychological insecurity concomitant to discrimination is acute. The consequences of one's not losing awareness of self are directly injurious to mental health, and the whites in America have exhibited a diabolical tendency to force self consciousness on the Negroes in their midst.

"Whether frustrations are. . . shown in mental illness or. . .placid acquiescence," writes Robert L. Cooper in *Mental Hygiene,* April, 1945, "frequently they are the result. . .of the emotionally damaging burden of being forced to carry the minority rôle."

Knowledge of the causes for our increasing mental disorders in the United States is the material out of which we can construct a dike against this menace. The dike will be needed. Frustrations accompanying the many post-war social readjustments will be intense. Economic changes will be deep-cutting. Insecurity and fear are rife in a famine-haunted, atomic bomb-threatened world.

To offset these influences, we must equip our cities with mental hygiene clinics where incipient cases of illness can be checked in time and where people can be informed about the danger zones.

We must develop a clear eyed responsibility for our mental health. The fatalism that mental illness is the vengeance of the gods is still

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common among us.

Nothing more pointedly demonstrates our present unscientific thinking in the mental hygiene realm than the strange distinctions we tend to draw between the mentally sick and the mentally well. The psychiatrist is often unable to take his patient to the hospital without consulting a jury of laymen in a long humiliating public trial. The patient is often thrown in jail while awaiting transportation to the hospital. Because of his illness, he is commonly called opprobrious names —and knows it. "Look," plaintively joked a patient on noticing that soup was being served for supper, "see how this institution gives us *everything* to eat—soup to nuts!"

While our child-guidance clinics are a noteworthy asset, it is possible that the emphasis of our whole educational effort must be rethought. Emotional integration and constructive self-expression must supplant the intellectualizing of our present education if our children are to resist the peculiar pressures of a mechanized age.

Meanwhile these pressures can be reduced. If we are unable to wish a decentralization of American industry into effect, we can succeed in slowing down our mode of living. If we are unable to throw up our job on the assembly line, we can at least develop leisure time pursuits through which our whole personalities can find expression. If we cannot end the imposed self consciousness that endangers the mental health of minority groups, we can overcome the patronizing or prejudiced tendencies in ourselves.

● Let's get together, boys!

The New York Times, July 11 account of *Pravda's* story on Brooks Atkinson: "He says with wonderful authority: 'The general level of theatre, art and music is low. . .'

"These words prove that 'our correspondent' in one of the New York establishments understands as much in ideas and art as any other 'our own correspondent' from a Chicago meat packing plant understands about oranges."

Izvestia, July 13, carried a letter from A. D. Popov, People's Artist, and president of the theatrical section of *Voks,* Society for Foreign Cultural Relations, "comparing what Atkinson wrote while in Moscow with what he wrote on Soviet art after returning to the United States, I come to the conclusion that Mr. Atkinson has no great scruples or conscience. Such double-faced behavior of an American correspondent, now writing anti-Soviet slander, seems to me harmful because it disrupts the Soviet people's confidence in foreign press representatives working in the Soviet Union."

Culture and Life, the weekly newspaper of the Propaganda and Agitation Board of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, devoted its July 17 edition, however, to a condemnation of Soviet opera, theatre, painting, films and architecture. "A significant number" of play are "regrettably mediocre and primitive." Only four of the 12 Stalin drama prizes were awarded in 1945. "Thus far, not a single good Russian opera on modern themes has been created," and there is no effort to create "a vivid and expressive modern opera . . ." Only two of the four Stalin prizes for literature were awarded. Literature in 1945 was not "abundant in new and original work".

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An inspection of the housing dilemma

Everybody's Bad Bargain?

By Marjorie Foulkrod

AS the period of reconversion drags on, one of the most acute dilemmas which the United States citizen, whether veteran, war-worker, banker or builder, has to face, is the housing shortage. The problem has been studied; programs have been suggested; drastic measures are being taken, but only a closer examination of the housing crisis and the remedies that have been devised can reveal the complexity of the dilemma.

If you were John Mason, a returned serviceman looking for a place to live, you would have no trouble believing that, at the moment, the United States is short about five million homes. Of the 41,000,000 non-farm housing units in the United States, it is estimated that 10,000,000 ought to be torn down. With these figures in mind, the the estimate, that 1,000,000 new houses a year for the next 10 years will not fill the demand, does not seem fantastic.

Many of the causes of the shortage are obvious: there has been, in the last decade, very little residential building (in 15 years an annual average of 330,000 housing units); an unprecedented, permanent migration of about 9 million workers from rural to urban areas; the wartime boom in marriages, which in six years increased the number of non-farm families by 20 per cent, and resulted in the record-breaking birth rate; the release of millions of servicemen and the termination of "doubling-up" living with relatives; and finally, the high level of income and savings which makes the investment in a house possible for thousands.

Most of the causes of the shortage can be cured only by supplying more houses or by exterminating a large part of the population, and the former is obviously the more humanitarian solution.

The demand becomes even more acute when you consider that the average yearly increase in the number of families in the United States is estimated at 500,000. The extremely ambitious government program under National Housing Administrator, Wilson Wyatt, which intends to start construction on 2,700,000 units by the end of 1947, merely hopes to care for about half the present demand.

PRICES

In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the ex-servicemen form a vast army of the most baffled, belligerent and discouraged house-hunters. Of course, all the returned servicemen are not looking for the same kind of housing; their interests vary with the locality and with the size of their pocketbooks. Estimates of the National Housing

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Administration, however, state that, to fill the most acute demand, 1,150,000 families can buy a house under $4,000 or rent at $35 a month; 560,000 can buy between $4,000 to $6,000 or pay rent between $35 and $50; 345,000 between $6,000 and $8,000 or rent between $50 and $65; and 645,000 at $8,000 and up or rent at $65 and up.

As the discouraged house-hunters know, there is very little rental housing available. What little there is, is often subject to the most unjust discriminatory regulations, i. e., no families with children, no young couples who might have children. Such restrictions give the returned servicemen a well-justified cause for griping.

Nevertheless, many efforts are being made to help the veteran. In most cities, as in Philadelphia, the Real Estate brokers prepare, in their offices, a preferential list of housing as it becomes available for veterans. People who have extra space in their homes help by converting attics into third floor apartments and garages into homes.

Why there is so little rental housing is in part explained by the tremendous demand for all housing, and, in part, by an opinion expressed by Real Estate Boards that, had the O. P. A. restrictions on rents been revised with due consideration to increased costs of operation and maintenance, much more rental housing would have been available for veterans.

With the hope of renting a house fast disappearing, John Mason, the typical young veteran of today, has to look for a house to buy.

When he must have a place for his family to live, and there are no available houses for rent, he is inclined to regard buying a house in a different light than as a wise or foolish purchase. Neverthless, he must realize that a home is a permanent, tangible investment, which, unlike an automobile, is very difficult to turn into ready cash. And certain rules which hold true for the advisability of such an investment, are especially true in today's inflated market.

The accepted rule of thumb for such an investment holds that you can afford to buy a house at twice the annual family income if that income is reasonably secure. Some experts believe the minimum annual income for those who can afford the investment should be $2,500.

In addition to the purchase price, it is essential to estimate the annual costs of operation as 10 per cent of the purchase price. (On a $10,000 house, the annual cost of operation would be $1,000.) The purchaser should also consider the cost of the down payment, the interest charges on the mortgage, the money required for amortizing the principal, unanticipated tax assessments, various fees for title examination, proof and appraisal of the property, yearly tax payments at approximately 2½ per cent of the purchase price, heating expenses and fire insurance.

The potential buyer should note that the present-day market is a highly inflated one. After the present real estate boom will come a slump and a complete readjustment of prices. The real estate history of the twenties formed a pattern

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which we are following today. All the inflationary pressures are magnified, and it seems safe to predict that the resulting slump will be even more acute. Consequently, it is essential not to overlook real values in buying a house.

Many social and economic factors, over which we have no control, determine the long-term value of a house. Studies show that the annual charge for depreciation runs from two to three per cent of the purchase price—an underestimate in times of inflation. Value may depreciate very rapidly as a result of the technological revolution which the building industry is undergoing. New methods and materials, a new emphasis on household engineering and functional living are fast changing housewive's values from the "comfortable" home, complete with cellar, porch and attic, to the "modern and efficient" home of one or two stories. In a neighborhood where zoning laws are not stringent, John Mason may find that his outdoor living room overlooks a supermarket or that 50 transports a day swoop over his sun-deck roof en route to a nearby airport.

Sub-standard construction, caused by the present shortage of building materials, will only hasten the depreciation in value of some emergency homes.

None of these factors should be overlooked if John Mason wants to take a "step" into home ownership instead of a "plunge" which will overtax his stable income or cause financial disaster and hardship. He should follow this general rule: the total monthly costs, which include interest and principal payments on

—Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"BE IT EVER SO HUMBLE"

the mortgage, taxes, insurance, utilities and maintenance, should be equal to, or less than, the rent he would pay for equal facilities, and should run between one fifth and one fourth of his total monthly income, or between $40 and $50 of a monthly salary of $200.

Just where does the veteran stand in this picture?

In order to get a place to live, John Mason has to buy a house, and to buy a house, he undoubtedly needs to borrow money. The government, under the G. I. Bill, has promised to guarantee one half the amount of the loan up to $4,000. This loan-guarantee enables the veteran to borrow $2-4,000 more from the lending institutions than he could ordinarily expect.

Another stipulation of the G. I. Bill, designed to be beneficial to the veteran, is that an interest rate of four per cent is the maximum on any

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loan guaranteed by the Veterans Administration. The Veterans Administration should also select a real estate expert from its approved list to appraise the value of the property, and, if the expert finds the cost excessive, the Veterans Administration will not guarantee the loan.

The original provisions of the loan guarantee section were "liberalized" so that the maximum guarantee was changed from $2,000 to $4,000. The appraiser's certification was to be made on the "reasonable value" of the property instead of, as formerly, the "reasonable normal value". The maximum term for repayment of the loan was changed from 20 to 25 years.

In theory, the loan guarantee provisions of the G. I. Bill are a great boon to the veteran. He is freed from making a down payment which would tie up much needed money and savings which could be invested in United States Savings Bonds and earning interest at 3 per cent — an ever liquid asset. However, with no down payment, the veteran assumes higher carrying charges. Considering the uncertain income of the average "G. I." and the slump to come, the veteran, with a monthly payment of $60.60 as interest and payment on a $10,000 loan, assumes a substantial burden.

The lending institutions now have more liquid assets than ever before. They are extremely willing to make a $10,000 loan, with government guaranteeing $4,000, a mortgage risk of only $6,000, on a property the price of which several years ago would have been $7,000, and for which they would have hesitated to risk a $6,000 loan.

When the safeguard, which was originally set up to insure that the appraisal of the property would be the "reasonable normal value", was changed to the "reasonable value", the present inflated value was allowed to control the evaluation and resulted in the establishment of excessive prices. In the same way, the more liberal loan guarantee enabled the lender to give more money at equal risk and the real estate man to boost the price of a scarce commodity. No one feels the pinch at the present time, but all the elements together impose a long-term burden on the buyer.

AMORTIZATION

The extension of the amortization of the mortgage from 20 to 25 years is designed to lighten the load of carrying charges. However, even though the veteran pays, on a $10,000 loan at four per cent over 25 years, a monthly payment of $52.79, merely a little over two per cent of the loan has been repaid at the end of a year. Of course, at the end of 25 years, with all payments made, he will own the house free and clear, but a lot can happen before that happy day in the fortunes of this generation. His house will probably rapidly depreciate in value and within three years he may still owe about $9,300 on a house which is then worth only $6,000.

Putting aside the hysteria of the moment, and looking at the emergency measures in terms of dollars and cents, the picture of ill-advised investments is one which seems unavoidable for the "G. I." It threatens the government with a substantial economic burden should the

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inevitable depression be severe and a large number of borrowers find themselves unable to pay interest or principal on their loans.

At such a time, the Veterans Administration is obligated to re-imburse the lending institution up to 15 per cent of the total number of loans made under the loan guarantee provisions. However, very little is said, and perhaps known, about what the government intends to do in that eventuality and whether the "G. I." will be held responsible by the government.

Most of the ex-servicemen, the John Masons and their families, know very well that they are launching financially upon a crazy kind of mountain-climbing expedition in a government-operated cable car which gives them a lift at the start, when it might have been safer to walk, and carries them part way to where the going gets tough.

However, to them the payment seems a minor part of their problem. They have to have a house to live in, even if that house is a very bad bargain.

In almost every bad bargain, only one side gets the raw end of the deal. It looks as if the housing purchaser, in most cases the veteran, receives that honor. But what of the men who want to help him out by building more houses thereby increasing the supply and attacking the shortage and resulting inflation?

Throughout the United States, according to 1939 figures, there are only 31,000 building contractors and 187,000 sub-contractors. The operations of these builders are hampered by the self-protective regulations of some 55 unions affiliated with the building trades and by some 2,000 local building codes which vary with each locality in stringency, and in some places make it completely unprofitable to do construction work.

Although the building codes were originally designed to protect the public and to preserve a high standard, they were often influenced by political interests and have resulted in stifling the use of improved and cheaper materials and methods. The task of revising codes takes a long time, and, at the end of 10 years when a revision is completed, a great number of the provisions are already obsolete.

SHORTAGES

To remedy the situation, efforts are being made in various localities to establish an advisory commission employing an engineer to work, with assistance from volunteer workers, in testing and reporting on the latest materials.

The acute shortage of almost all building materials, however, is the greatest obstacle to the builder and to the whole program.

The production of lumber is 50 per cent below the high level of 1942. (The hardwood flooring requirements of the housing program in 1946 are 793 million board feet, 70 per cent of the total output.) Only a small portion of the decreased production of lumber is being finished for hardwood flooring and for housing because mill operators have found production of housing lumber unsatisfactory under the O. P. A. restrictions, or have found that exporting lumber or selling it to the railroads, at $10 more per

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thousand foot than builders can pay, is more advantageous.

In the northwest, to make up for the loss of several of the big lumbering companies which have ceased production because the chances of profit seemed too remote, new machinery and new roads into virgin forests are needed, if funds can be secured.

Brick production has been hampered by coal shortages, strikes, and labor shortages because of very low wages. Since the O. P. A. granted a price increase of $2.00 per thousand, brick wages have gone up and production increased 50 per cent since V-J. Day, but, in March and April, 180 out of 700 brick-making plants were closed down. In some cases, builders must wait six to ten months for delivery of bricks.

Another of the many shortages is manpower to carry on the rapidly expanding building business. National Housing Administrator Wyatt estimates that 1,000,000 more men will be needed, but a million men without tools will scarcely be useful.

The additional labor required to build the needed housing presents a problem to A. F. of L. skilled union men who will either have to work with non-union men or increase their ranks considerably.

Prefabrication has been suggested as a solution to rapidly increased production since it lies somewhere between the extremes of the conventional custom-built house and the industrialized house. However, the 70 odd prefabricators face the same material shortages, the skepticism of the public, and the obstructionism of the autonomous local labor unions, who feel that prefabrication is a threat to the long-range building demand. The prefabricator also faces the difficulty of setting up mass production methods, and a separate sales agency system similar to the automobile system.

The truly industrialized house was thought to be a matter of the future until after V-J day when the Fuller House, for 20 years merely a design, was produced by the aircraft factory mass production methods. Mr. Fuller's new dymaxion house gives promise of becoming the real house of the future. The circular design of sheet aluminum, plexiglass, plastic, plywood and stainless steel, has features which make for easier, lighter, cleaner, cheaper and healthier living.

At the present time, the producers, Fuller Houses, Inc., estimate they can produce 250,000 a year and plan to start production early in 1947. Estimates state that at present the house will sell for around $6,500, but with maximum production of 500,000 a year, it should sell around $3,500. Production has been delayed because of priorities and the difficulties of setting up a new industry.

Increased costs plague the builder as well as every other producer at this time. In an estimated budget of the cost of building an $8,000 house in 1939, (which in 1946 would cost $12,000), the increased cost of materials would be $1,344, the cost of labor and labor insurance $1,235 more, and the cost for overhead and profit would rise from 13 per cent to 20 per cent of the total.

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When the gravity of the housing situation, the extent of material shortages and supply bottlenecks, and the wage and price controversies began to be understood in Washington, President Truman appointed Wilson Wyatt, a successful lawyer with some experience in public housing, as National Housing Administrator. Early in February Wyatt announced his program by which he expects to start 1,200,000 housing units in 1946, with a total of 2,700,000 started by the end of 1947.

The program includes:

1. Restriction on commercial and industrial construction and a priorities system to give the housing program the bulk of scarce building materials.
2. Subsidies to producers of building materials in premium payments after certain production quotas are reached.
3. Special incentives to expand or construct new building-material plants.
4. Stimulation of prefabrication of houses by guaranteeing a market.
5. Wage and price increases.

The Emergency Housing Program Bill incorporating these measures was finally signed by President Truman on May twenty-second.

Figures show an increasingly large dollar-volume of contracts let for residential construction—in five months of 1946 — $3,129,822,000 as compared with $2,794,401,000 in 1928, one of the peak residential building years. In the first seven months of 1946 in Philadelphia, priorities were issued for approximately 13,000 new units. The exact figures of how many units have been started could not be supplied by the local F. H. A., but estimates infer that less than 1 per cent are completed.

At this rate, the quota for Philadelphia in 1946-47—25,000 homes on the basis of Wyatt's program—seems fantastic, especially when you consider that in the peak year of residential building in Philadelphia, 1925, only 15,408 homes were built. At that time, there were some 850 builders. In 1946, there are not over 200.

Although, late in April, Wyatt stated that building material production had risen sufficiently to take care of the demands of the emergency housing program, the Civilian Production Administration records show production slumps in May, in many cases blamed on the coal shortage. Unless a terrific spurt is seen in the coming months, construction will fall far short of the 1,200,000 unit goal to be started by 1947.

The over-all housing picture looks grim. Even the long-range housing provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill are left dangling, awaiting long-overdue legislative action. Where the responsibility lies is often a matter of opinion, but this close examination of the situation seems to reveal the housing problem as part of the larger problem of reconversion, where the blame can be placed on irreconcilable opinions, inconsistencies in policy, actual shortages, governmental delays, and the re-adjustments caused by the termination of the war. All in all, housing is a national headache and a bad bargain for everyone.

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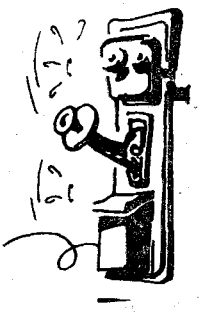
FIFTY YEARS of FORUM

1896 1946



The moving picture machine, the horseless carriage and the telephone were developments of recent years which evoked the general interest and amazement of the American citizens of 1896. They viewed the changing world with as much awe and skepticism as we do today, and they aired their opinions with as much force. We can read the controversies and customs in FORUM of 1896 with an indulgent smile because of the perspective of 50 years, but we must also bow humbly before evidence of far-sighted and clear-headed thinking.

> *"The self-interest as well as the moral and political welfare of the people of the United States are bound up in a close commercial union with other English-speaking peoples. What stands in the way of this union (of Great Britain and the United States) for the protection of commerce and for the assurance of peace and plenty wherever the dominion of the English-speaking people and its influence extend?" Edward Atkinson seems to have keen insight in his discussion of the inadvisability of an Anglo-American war when United States-British relations were strained over the Venezuelan boundary dispute.*

"The hold of the saloon on the community does not proceed wholly, or perhaps chiefly, from the thirst for drink. The saloon is the poor man's club."

> *"The theatrical complaint is that the bicycle seriously injures the playhouse in winter, and ruins it outright in the summer." Joseph Bishop continues his discussion of the social and economic influences of the bicycle, "its influence as a missionary for scientific road building is alone sufficient to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the American people."*

"Courting among the Boers is a novel proceeding. A young man, having asked permission of his father to court the hand of some neighboring damsel, proceeds to purchase the most loudly colored and decorated saddle cloth for his horse that he can possibly find." He rides forth and, "unlike the youth of a more civilized life, he avoids the lady and seeks her father, . . . and asks permission to court her."

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The nations must agree on the meaning of words

International Semantics

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

From her column in The New York Times

THE angry debate that flared up in Paris began in San Francisco and has been going on in international meetings ever since. Oversimplified and boiled down to its essence, it is another argument between Russia and the Western Powers on the meaning of words. Just as the Russians use terms like "democracy," "free elections" and "liberty of the press" in a sense that does not translate into our language, so, as time goes on and their actions make their meaning clearer, it develops that even their definition of the word "international" is quite different from ours.

The difference came out first in drafting the United Nations Charter. Mr. Byrnes charged that ever since Potsdam the Soviet Union has sought to restrict the participants in the peace conference to the smallest possible number. But in San Francisco Mr. Molotov fought hard to limit the small nations' right of discussion, and his prompt support of this right in Paris represents a distinct advance.

The never-ending debate on the veto is just a continuation of the argument, for whereas the United States is just as keen on its veto power as the Soviet Union, there is a wide divergence between the two countries on whether it applies only to ultimate decisions for the use of force. That is how we understand it, but the Russians have demonstrated that they construe it as something that can be invoked on any question, however trivial, on which a Big Power wants to have its own way.

Mr. Byrnes challenged Mr. Molotov to "secure or permit" publication in the Soviet Union of the statement in reply to the Russian delegate's charges. Mr. Molotov promptly accepted the challenge, thereby admitting that he had power to do in Russia what Mr. Byrnes could not promise for the American press. The American delegate could assume, as he did, that since America has a free press the attack against him by the Soviet representative would be published in the United States, but he could not order the papers to publish it.

Mr. Molotov was frank to admit that he can. He had something to say about the free press in America. He asserted that it was a trust, which he had heard was controlled by "two or three bosses". He added that the press should not only be free but objective and honest. Then he illustrated the Soviet conception of a free press by declaring that he accepted Mr. Byrnes' suggestion to publish his speech in the Russian papers.

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The assumption that a press admittedly under one supreme boss constitutes a free, honest and objective press underlines the difference in definitions. The same difference reveals itself in the opposing views of what constitutes international order and international decisions. The Russian idea is that the Big Minority rules. In this conception, the terms of the treaties to be reviewed in Paris, for instance, can be determined only by the Big Four or the Big Three. In the final analysis, this is true. Under any system of voting, the Great Powers will have the final word. There is little question that on all important issues their agreements will stand. Therefore, all the impassioned discussion about majority votes and two-thirds votes is not about the details of the treaties. It is not over Trieste, reparations, the control of the Danube, but over contradictory conceptions of how the world is to be organized and run.

"What do you mean by 'international cooperation'?" ask the 17 of the Four. And the Four do not agree. The decision on Trieste is a case in point. The foreign ministers decided to set up an international regime over a free territory. But it appears now that neither "international" nor "free territory" means the same thing to all and that there is no agreement as to just what they do mean in a concrete instance. The United States insists on the internationalization of the Danube and Russia says "yes," but with an entirely different connotation.

The Soviet government consistently opposes every move to broaden the base of power in the world and the small nations instinctively fight every restriction of their limited rights, knowing that they gain ground every time they are heard, even if they do not change the Big Power verdicts. The same line-up appeared in Paris that showed itself in the United Nations. It is not against Russia, although the Russians are undoubtedly sincere in thinking so. Nor is it against Communism as a philosophy. It is against the Soviet conception of world organization. Mr. Molotov is afraid of the majority vote because Russia, despite her power, her satellites, the parties supporting her aims in nearly every country, is in the minority. This is the striking fact brought out in Paris as in New York. The classic conception of democratic procedure, in peace-making as in world organization, is more popular than the Soviet definition. When Russia realizes that this is so, she may decide to join the majority.

• A little boy had heard many tales of "Peter," his cousin. Finally the good news came that Peter was going to pay a visit. The youngster could hardly contain himself. But, as soon as Peter arrived, he burst into tears.

"What's the matter?" his mother inquired anxiously.

"I thought," he sobbed, "that Peter was a rabbit!"

—*Capper's Weekly*

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Control of finance returns to Congress

Congressional Reorganization

By Jay G. Hayden

From his column in The Detroit News

ALTHOUGH it was marred at the last by a tricky bit of personal acquisitiveness, the La Follette-Monroney congressional reorganization bill is likely to be recorded in history as the most important legislative accomplishment of this generation.

The last-minute circumlocution related to congressional pay. The bill as originally drafted proposed an increase from $10,000 to $15,000, and the Senate passed it in that form. In the House, this was changed to an increase in base pay only to $12,500, but with $2,500 added in the guise of a tax-free expense account of which the member has to make no detailed accounting.

The net effect of this change, which the Senate promptly accepted, is to make the annual take-home pay approximately $1,000 higher than it would have been with a straight $15,000 salary, minus the expense account.

Last year the House voted the $2,500 expense allowance for its members, but the Senate then rejected it as an obvious pay-raising subterfuge.

Even so, the bill should be worth the price many times over, and it is a tremendous personal accomplishment for the two men who principally maneuvered it to passage, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and Representative Monroney of Oklahoma.

The most important single effect of the bill is to return to Congress the control of the nation's finances, which it had largely frittered away.

At the beginning of each session henceforth, appropriations committees, which dole out cash, and the committees on way and means in the House and finance in the Senate, which raise revenue, must get together on a budget and the means of meeting it.

The budget must be balanced or the country told exactly why not.

It is especially significant that this change comes when curtailment from the high peak of war expenditures is in order, and also at a time when change in partisan control of the government is an acute prospect.

Congress made a start toward reorganizing the Government's financial machinery under similar conditions in 1919.

Then, Congress turned over to a single committee in each house the business of passing on appropriation requests which previously had been scattered among a flock of departmental committees. Coincidentally there was set up a Budget Bureau and the General Accounting Office, both the latter supposedly to act as a check on executive spending.

Early in the New Deal, Lewis

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Douglas quit as budget director because his economy measures were constantly over-ridden by President Roosevelt. Thereafter, the budget director became purely a presidential stooge and, with the advent of blanket war appropriations, the General Accounting Office was almost as completely subordinated.

Congress now is taking over directly the job of supervising government expenditures. Its appropriation committees henceforth will be armed with accountants who, in the words of Representative Dirksen, Illinois, will "go and live in the structure of government and find the weaknesses and then sit at the elbows of members of Congress and say: 'Ask him this question; ask him how he justifies this expense or that procedure.' "

In 1920, President Wilson vetoed the financial reorganization bill, on the ground that it infringed his executive prerogative. But that just made the issue duck soup for the Republicans in the ensuing presidential campaign. One of President Harding's first acts was to sign the bill Wilson had vetoed.

Whichever party wins in this year's election will be put on the budget-balancing spot by the current congressional reorganization. And what the party in power during the next two years does in the way of carrying out this measure is bound to influence the presidential result in 1948.

• A "windy but dull" member of Congress once said to Henry Clay, "You, sir, speak for the present generation, but I speak for posterity."

Clay replied, "And it seems that you are resolved to keep on speaking until your audience arrives." —*Toastmaster*

• We hear that the Scotch may be howling for Home Rule in earnest one of these days because oatmeal, which is very scarce in Scotland, is fed to horses in England.

Samuel Johnson once defined oats as "a grain which in England is fed to horses, but in Scotland supports the people." To which a Scot replied: "Yes, and England is famous for its horses, while Scotland is famous for its men."

• A small friend returned from school one day and said: "Johnny Wilson's papers were so good that the teacher keeps them on her desk to show to visitors."

"But why aren't yours as good as Johnny's?" her mother asked. "You have had the same opportunities."

"I know, Mother," the child replied, "but Johnny Wilson comes from a very bright family."

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

• When Gertrude Stein was a pupil at Radcliff, she was a favorite of William James. The night before her final exam in philosophy she had gone to the opera and so was quite tired the next day. She turned in the following paper: "Dear Professor James, I am so sorry but I do not feel a bit like an examination paper in philosophy today".

William James replied: "Dear Miss Stein, I understand perfectly how you feel. I often feel that way myself".

She got the highest grade in the course.

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Our dollar is being kicked

A Currency War?

By Sylvia F. Porter

From her syndicated column

SWEDEN has joined Canada in marking down the value of the American dollar. And in Lima, the banks have been commanded to turn in their gold and foreign currencies so that the Peruvian government will have more funds to buy essential goods abroad. And in Amsterdam, an upgrading of the Dutch guilder is being openly debated. And in Zurich, rumors of an appreciation of the Swiss franc are spreading fast. And in London, a rise in the pound is being discussed even though the ink on the British loan pact is scarcely dry. All over the world, to put it bluntly, nations are kicking or getting ready to kick the United States dollar.

And this astonishing trend is developing because the United States is allowing inflation to take hold, letting its prices soar.

It's hard for us to conceive of any nation questioning the value of our money, the dollar bills in our pockets.

We're conceited. We're citizens of the strongest, the greatest productive power in the world, and our dollar is the symbol of our unparalleled financial strength.

It's difficult for us to imagine that any country, especially a small one, would think of starting a "currency war" against us.

We have the gold, the cash, the productive capacity. No nation, say we, would dare to tackle us.

Yet, Sweden has just raised the value of her currency almost 15 per cent against ours. Now, the Swedish *krona* brings 15 per cent more in terms of the United States dollar.

Canada raised the value of her currency a full 10 per cent against ours. Now, the Canadian dollar brings 10 per cent more in terms of the United States dollar.

And the rumors of other revaluations—a series of currency changes that would mean a mark-up in the purchasing power of other currencies here, a mark-down in the purchasing power of our dollar in foreign lands—are too persistent to ignore.

Argentina, for instance, would like to copy Canada and Sweden, and there's a real chance she will soon. Since Argentina is not even a member of the World Fund—the organization created at the Bretton Woods conference to help stabilize world currency values—she won't be held down by the decisions of that institution when it begins operations.

As is to be expected, Switzerland denies she has any plans, and the president of her National Bank says "no experiments with currency, no change in the gold conservation policy"—but that doesn't halt the gossip.

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And Holland's Minister, Pieter Lieftinck, gives clear warning that "the moment might come when the government would have to consider whether any further influence of the international price level on Holland could be permitted."

What, you well may ask, is going on here?

No holds are barred in this game. Currency manipulation is a tough, a selfish business. This is international finance on a scale to defy the imaginations of the mystery book writers.

The United States is the one great source of goods in the world today. With minor exceptions, every nation is a buyer from us now, an importer of our products. Canada, for instance, Sweden, Switzerland.

Our prices are going up. We're inviting inflation and economic upheaval in the United States. Our goods are becoming more expensive not only to us, but to all foreign purchasers. Sweden, for example, says prices of her imports have skyrocketed 130 per cent since 1939.

Canada and Sweden have been watching our price and wage control struggles as closely as you have. They obviously don't like what they see.

So they're taking action in "self defense." They're trying to solve their own problems by making their own currencies worth more in terms of ours. The higher they raise the value of their currencies, the more they lower the cost of the American goods they want to buy.

And since buying is more important to them than selling now, currency up-grading is the current keynote.

That's dandy for Sweden and Canada. But as they raise the values of their currencies, they mark down the value of ours.

We're not self-sufficient. We must buy some goods from other lands, too. And we must go into foreign markets with our dollars.

For example, you are holding newsprint in your hands. To the publisher of this newspaper, newsprint is as vital as a blast furnace to United States Steel or an assembly line to General Motors.

Canada and Sweden are the primary exporters of newsprint. We must buy huge amounts of it from them.

So, in the last few days—since the currency changes—the price of newsprint has soared.

And this newsprint tale is just one illustration. There are hundreds of others which you'll notice in coming months.

We gave them their excuse when we fell into the O.P.A. tangle. We're giving other countries the same opportunity to offer a perfect explanation for whatever action they take. "Self defense," they'll declare. "We must insulate ourselves against your inflation, protect our citizens from your violent boom-bust cycles," they'll state.

And because the World Fund—created to prevent currency wars of this sort — is not yet in working order, the nations have complete freedom to move.

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What the explosions taught

Bikini Report

By Hanson W. Baldwin

From his column in The New York Times

THE Bikini bomb tests stripped a lot of the mystery and fantasy from the atomic bomb and produced a tremendous number of military lessons of basic importance to national defense.

The atom bomb became, in that tropic lagoon, a finite weapon, its power measurable and limited, though still by far the most terrible weapon known to man. It is not a weapon that will destroy the world nor is it a weapon that can destroy fleets, air forces or armies at one blow. But it is a weapon that can impose more damage on cities, industries, bases, armies, navies and air forces than any other single bomb or projectile or weapon in history. And it has fundamentally changed the art of war.

Operation Crossroads, therefore, far more than paid for itself, even if its results should be gauged only by the military lessons learned. The scientific by-products, of course, were enormous, and they will be analyzed for months to come.

The whole science of naval construction will be affected fundamentally by the lessons of Bikini, and by the lessons still to be learned from Test Charlie—a deep underwater explosion of an atomic bomb—tentatively scheduled for next March. So, too, will naval tactics and naval strategy.

Generally speaking, the Navy feels that its ships stood up very well against the greatest blast known to man. It was proved—despite many advance assertions to the contrary—that an atomic bomb or even two atomic bombs, cannot sink an entire fleet, or even a segment of a fleet represented by the 70-80 target ships here at Bikini.

But it was also proved that one bomb can do more damage to a fleet in harbor than any weapon hitherto known to man. And, indeed, its radioactive fission products might incapacitate or slowly kill many of the personnel of the fleet.

The shock damage to ships' hulls of the shallow underwater blast was slightly more localized than expected. The wave damage was not pronounced, and the effects of the air burst decreased rapidly with distance from the detonation point.

One of the major lessons of the tests, observers agreed, was the necessity of finding some means of protecting ships and their crews against radioactivity. Radioactive particles in the sea water, it has been found, tend to cling to barnacles, seaweed and rust on the ships' bottoms, and are particularly persistent in oil slicks.

These radioactive fission products and radioactive sodium in the water

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also tend to be drawn into the ships' evaporators, boilers and water-cooling systems, and if this should occur, radioactivity would slowly sicken or kill the crew. Ship design of the future, therefore, must find some means of shielding or protecting the crew.

Navies of tomorrow must also include small patrol vessels specially fitted with Geiger counters, film strips and other equipment to determine the presence of radioactivity and to conduct radiological patrols of all fleet anchorages to guard ships against the new invisible killer. Indeed, all naval vessels probably will be equipped in the future with some simple means of measuring radioactivity, and some system of washing off contaminated vessels promptly must also be evolved.

It probably is impractical to build a surface ship with the cylindrical hull form of a submarine, although this form of construction provides greatest strength. But some adaption of this principle, perhaps a reversion to the turtle-back Monitor-type ship, with thick underwater plates and little exposed superstructures, may be necessary. Shallow-draft vessels were less exposed to shock damage by the sub-surface atomic explosion than were the deep-draft vessels. Naval designers, therefore, may sacrifice draft for security.

Ship's superstructures, like ship's underwater hulls, suffered material damage in the Bikini tests. Some way must be found to minimize superstructure damage and lessen the exposed superstructure surface.

Radio antennae and fittings will be affected, but these cannot be housed entirely within the ship's hull. An adaption of the flexible whip antenna principle, with sturdier and more streamlined junction boxes and down leads is indicated. Extensive radar, or radar gear mounted on more flexible masts, and fire control equipment of sturdier design may be needed.

New methods of propelling ships will be evolved, and atomic energy power plants will play a big part in the navies of tomorrow. Admiral Cochrane said he believed atomic energy power plants might be developed for naval vessels within five to 10 years, and though many observers feel this is an optimistic estimate, it is possible that an experimental atomic marine engine may be ready within that time.

Similarly ship's armament will change. Many vessels of the future may become rocket launchers and drone mother craft.

But perhaps the biggest question ship designers must decide is the rôle of armor in tomorrow's fleet. Ships can be designed and built — massively, sturdily and thick with armor — to withstand perhaps twice the blast or shock that any ship survived during these tests. A ship might be built that could remain afloat even 100 yards or so from the center of an atomic bomb explosion. The quesion is, is it worth it?

That is an old, old question in ship design: whether security should be sought in armor and strength or in dispersion and numbers. In answering this question, ship designers throughout history have evolved different types of warships. Some of

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them, like destroyers, are fast but "tenderskinned". Others, like battleships, are slow but massive. The relative importance to be given to armor is the great question mark in tomorrow's navies.

There will, of course, continue to be use for armored ships, but the atomic bomb and other modern projectiles seem to have won the age-old race between projectiles and armor with some finality. This observer is inclined to believe that navies of tomorrow must put more reliance upon dispersion, numbers and mobility than upon armor.

The Bikini tests also have answered some major questions about the desirable characteristics of naval bases. Before the tests, many scientists and some naval officers believed that an atomic bomb dropped into the center of an atoll's lagoon, such as Bikini Lagoon, would cause waves of radioactive water to surge entirely over the low-lying coral and sand strips surrounding the lagoon.

Such an effect, if it occurred, could have serious consequences. For Kwajalein and other Pacific islands, where many of our bases are situated, are low-lying, small sand strips, which could be devastated by any such inundation.

But neither the air nor the sub-surface burst had any such effect. The sub-surface bomb undoubtedly caused giant waves at the point of the explosion—the exact height has yet to be determined—but by the time these waves had reached Bikini beach, only three miles away, they had decreased to an end.

The bomb could, of course, have been detonated closer to Bikini, probably with disastrous consequences to the little island, but Bikini Island is only one of many that form Bikini atoll. The atoll is some 21 miles long and about half as broad. To inundate and devastate all base areas in an atoll, a great many atomic bombs would be required.

Atolls, therefore, will continue to have usefulness as bases, although the atomic bomb has re-enforced the pre-atomic adage that a large land mass with mountainous and heavily wooded regions, offers a more desirable base than thin strips of low-lying and exposed sand.

Most important from the naval standpoint is the dispersion of bases and of ships at anchor in those bases. Many bases, or at least many anchorages, spread over a wide area, must be the rule of tomorrow. Pearl Harbor appears to be too congested for the atomic age, and it is certainly true that the major part of our fleet should never be in any one base or harbor at any one time.

Radioactivity, rather than blast, wave action or the shock effect of a subsurface explosion, is the greatest danger to naval bases as well as to ships. The air-borne radioactive particles, deposited by an atomic cloud, upon land-based naval facilities might make them unusable for a time, and radioactive fission prodcuts in the water of a harbor could "interdict" that harbor to ships.

Moreover, the water of a harbor can be contaminated with radioactive products by means other than atomic blast. These particles might be sprayed, or otherwise introduced

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into the water, with the same fatal results.

A single delayed action atomic bomb dropped into the mud of a harbor would similarly neutralize that port, and, as Major General W. E. Kepner, deputy task force commander for aviation, has said, after dropping one or two delayed action atomic bombs into the water of a harbor, "all we would have to do is to drop a brick in the harbor the next day and no one would go out to see if it were a brick or bomb."

At sea—in cruising and in tactical formations—fleets of tomorrow must also seek safety in dispersion, in numbers and in mobility. And a new and difficult kind of morale must be built up to combat the invisible killer, radioactivity.

Crews doomed to slow death from exposure to lethal radioactivity are nevertheless able the first few days after exposure to continue normal duties. The seamen of tomorrow must be prepared to accept radioactivity as part of the hazards of their living and be ready to work and fight and save their ship even though they know they are doomed to slow death.

The Army Air Forces, as well as the Navy, benefitted tremendously from Operation Crossroads. General Kepner declared that the tests and the preparations for them had opened new horizons for air power and that more knowledge had been acquired by the air arm of both Army and Navy in the months of preparations for the tests than would have been possible in a lifetime without them.

The extensive use of drone planes in the two tests — pilotless planes equipped with television equipment in the nose as well as in the instrument panels and controlled by radio from mother planes—gave the Air Forces extensive experience in this new and developing tactic of war. The drones were far more successfully controlled than those actually used during the past war against the German submarine pens. A remarkable record of drone operation was established, and in Test Able and Test Baker all drones launched were successfully landed again.

DRONES

The drones used in the test were controlled by mother planes from distances of about eight miles or less. But the mothers have flown their crewless satellites successfully by remote control from distances of twenty-five miles, and control from a distance of 75 to 100 miles is believed to be within present capabilities.

The flexibility of drone operation is best shown by an incident during the test. A mother plane was bringing her charge home to its field, when her radio control instruments failed. The mother plane radioed the home base to send up another mother, and in the meantime the drone continued flying with its automatic pilot toward its landing strip. The replacement mother ship took over control and landed the drone safely.

There are obviously endless tactical possibilities for the employment of drones. They could be used, for instance, under control of a fleet of mother ships to "saturate" the air defenses of any city or area in the world. Fighters would not know

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which planes held an atomic bomb, and all planes—drones as well as piloted — would have to be intercepted and shot down to insure safety.

During these past two tests, the air forces — according to General Kepner and Brigadier General Roger M. Ramey, commanding the task group, also learned a great deal about handling the atomic bomb. The air forces now have a number of plane crews, including pilots and bombardiers, and ground crews trained in the specialized technique the atomic bomb requires, and a valuable backlog of experience has been built up.

This experience shows that for an air burst of the type used in Test Able, the bombing plane—for safety reasons—cannot be at an altitude of much less than 30,000 feet. Even at such an altitude, the plane receives a severe jolting from the blast wave of the explosion. A lower altitude, which presumably would insure more accuracy, would expose the bombing plane to destruction.

The air forces also gained very valuable experience in high altitude bombing. They make no secret of their chagrin about what they term a "miss" in the first test—although to the layman, a "miss" of 1,500 to 2,500 feet from a bombing altitude of 30,000 is not so major an error as it has been made to appear.

General Ramey, however, points out that the actual error in Test Able was more than three times any gross error made by any of the planes of his wing during practice for the test.

"We should have been able to put the bomb within 500 feet of the bullseye battleship Nevada," he said.

"Close studies of the bomb drop in the first test are now being made from photographs to determine the cause of the miss".

There are three possible causes—malfunction of the crew; in other words, pilot or bombardier error; malfunction of the bomb sight; or malfunction of the bomb. Many of the Air Force people are inclined to believe that the bomb did not behave normally ballistically; in other words, that it was erratic in flight after it was dropped from the plane. The atomic scientists of the Manhattan District are not inclined to accept this explanation. In any case, studies now in progress will probably determine which cause is responsible.

The Army Ground Forces were necessarily less concerned with Operation Crossroads than either the Navy or the Air Forces, but they were represented by Major General A. L. McAuliffe, ground force advisor to Admiral Blandy, and by a very large contingent of operating personnel and official Army observers from all arms and services.

A tremendous variety of Army Ground Force equipment was exposed on the decks of the target ships and some valuable lessons about the durability of this equipment and its ability to withstand atomic pressures and heat were learned. Equipment on ships in the center ring—nearest to the detonation point — was generally burned out, wrecked or badly damaged, like the ships themselves, but some of it in protected places on ships' decks was little affected.

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British brides point the way

Anglo-American Accord

By Charles Fisher

From his column in The Philadelphia Record

IT is delightful to see how quickly the British war brides are catching on to our quaint American customs. A young lady in Louisville stabbed her husband with a butcher knife the other day, and, a short while afterward, she was looking into a newspaper camera as calmly as if she had been a Yankee all her life.

The use of a butcher knife as an accent mark in love spats is characteristically American, of course. In England, it is the custom for a lady who finds herself in a pettish mood to burn her spouse in a hay stack. Or hay cock, as they call it there. Afterward the offending husband is identified from his teeth by a famous detective (amateur) who chances to be visiting at the manor house nearby.

We haven't accomplished all those refinements here in the States, and it's good to know that some visitors are content to put up with our somewhat clumsy ways. We wish, though, that the newspapers had told us what made the Louisville lady feel put upon.

Was it that her husband persisted in demanding bacon and eggs for breakfast, instead of eggs and bacon? Or that he wanted to wear a vest instead of a waistcoat? Or that he declined to push the baby in a pram or ride a tram? We have long wondered whether marriages built on such deep differences of expression could endure.

America and England might conceivably get together on minor things. We might set up a king, or the English might decide to have a president. But there will never be Union Now between two countries, one of which uses the underground and the other the subway. The whole idea belongs in the dust bin (or ash can, as we call it here).

If we were a Russian diplomat, we wouldn't try to put a wedge between America and Great Britain on any level of statecraft or politics. We'd send emissaries here and have them whisper: "You know how orchestra seats are more expensive than balcony seats in theatres and movies here, don't you? Well, those crazy English, they pay more to sit in the balcony! And they don't even call the orchestra the orchestra. They call it the pit."

Then we'd send the same agents over to London: "Those idiot Americans! They drive on the right hand side of the road instead of the left, like civilized people. And when they cut their food at dinner they shift their fork from the left to the right hand to eat, instead of feeding from the left. What can you have in common with barbarians like them?"

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A really good operator could have knife-and-fork riots going in no time. Or an *agent provocateur* could come over here and pose as an Englishman and insist on the right of a freeborn Briton to drive on the left. One thing would lead to another and in no time we'd be dropping so many atom bombs that there would not be a curbstone left in London. (Or kerbstone, as they put it.)

It's up to the British brides to avert that sort of misunderstanding and nothing helps better than small courtesies, such as using a butcher knife when occasion seems to call for it. It shows they're not proud or snobbish. Meanwhile, when the husband in the Louisville incident recovers, we hope he doesn't spoil everything by testifying the trouble started when he said sure, he'd take a letter down to the mail box for his wife, but blamed if he'd take it down to the pillar box.

Some reflections on the latest English sport

Winkles and Snails

By Don Rose

From his column "Stuff and Nonsense" in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

THERE has been no rush to join an American chapter of the British Snail Watching Society, but this is as it should be. A sincere and enthusiastic snail-watcher never hurries to do anything. Several have mentioned the matter of membership by word of mouth, and another expresses by letter his willingness to "join anything which guarantees to take the nervousness out of living". Watching snails might do it, assuming it doesn't upset the nerves of the snails.

One earnest disliker of the English people asserts that watching snails, second to playing cricket, is an ideal pastime for "those who still live in the past and don't want anything better". I doubt the gentleman has lately visited England, which has become an unpleasantly progressive country in many respects. The 60-odd members of the British Snail Watching Society belong to the Old Guard, a rapidly diminishing minority which liked the past to well to enjoy the present.

There is some confusion in this anti-English communication, which implies that the English not only imitate snails but eat them. Undoubtedly the gentleman is thinking of winkles. Thinking of winkles is not one of my favorite employments, but it seems necessary to explain that the winkle is a water snail, second cousin to the interesting creature which wanders around without getting anywhere in wet

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English gardens. The winkle is said to be edible, but this is a matter of taste.

I have eaten winkles and might do it again under provocation of severe starvation. It is done with the aid of an ordinary pin. The pin is used to remove a lid from the winkle and unwind him from his shell. The shell and lid of the winkle are not fit to eat and neither is the winkle. Pepper and salt may be added to improve the flavor of the winkle, but not much.

I am not informed whether the British Snail Watching Society is interested in slugs. The main difference between the slug and snail is that the slug has no shell, while the snail possesses a portable house somewhat resembling a spiral staircase. This may seem to be an inconvenient type of architecture, but it happens that the snail also resembles a spiral staircase and fits its home nicely.

Slugs are among the least attractive of nature's children, though the slugs themselves may not think so. Few animals look so thoroughly undressed as a slug. Slugs are more common than snails in this section of the United States, but far more plentiful in England. The lovely cottage gardens of rural England are really grim battlefields of eternal warfare between the gardeners and the slugs. An English gardener sharpens his appetite for breakfast every morning by removing three dozen slugs from his rose bushes, which makes room for more slugs by evening. A French gardener is more practical: he eats them.

• "Now, Sandy, tell me where the elephant is found," the teacher said.
"Well, ma'am," Sandy replied, "the elephant is such a large animal it is scarcely ever lost."

• A southern lady was proudly exhibiting to her daughter the neckties which her church group had made from odds and ends.
"But, mother!" her daughter cried. "Do the men wear them?"
"It is," her mother replied, "every gentleman's privilege."

• Waitresses have arrived!
"Please be careful with the atomic waitresses employed by this establishment. One wrong word from the customers and they may blow up."—Notice on a restaurant menu, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

• The doctor was examining a naval hospital orderly for advancement in rating. "What would you do if the captain fainted on the bridge?"
"Bring him to", the candidate replied.
"Then what?" the doctor asked.
"Bring him two more", the man said promptly.

There was a young man from Madras,
Whose nostrils were made out of glass,
When he twitched them together
They played "Stormy Weather",
Which startled King Haile-Selasse

—Anonymous

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The St. Lawrence Seaway is their last hold

The Power Trust

By Miles McMillin

From his column in The Progressive

THE St. Lawrence Seaway, which has been kicked around Congress for more years than most people care or are able to count, is one of the most baffling enigmas of modern politics. Everybody who is anybody is for it now and everybody who was anybody in the past was for it then.

President Coolidge favored it. President Hoover gave it his blessing. Franklin D. Roosevelt agitated for it as Governor of New York and continued to do so after he became President. President Truman has indicated that he would dearly love to see the deep-sea, salt-water tramps steaming into the inland sea. The titular head of the Republican Party, Tom Dewey, has sung its praises. Senator Arthur Vandenberg and Senator Scott Lucas forget party differences and plug for it.

Everybody is for it. But we never seem to get it. Maybe everybody isn't for it, after all. Maybe the gang in the back room playing with all those blue chips isn't for it. That gang has been hanging around Washington a long time with those blue chips which they collect every month when you pay your light bill.

They know how to use blue chips and have even refined some of the ways Old Sam Insull used to rattle them around when he was buying politicians, professors and text-book writers. I was wondering how they could be so successful at the job of keeping the St. Lawrence plan on ice for so long when many wanted it so much.

Then suddenly, with the help of the Federal Power Commission, I realized how they were doing it. It's simple. They are just using the principle known as the "old college try". It's just the old determination, that's all. The fact is, the St. Lawrence project means sink or swim for the power trust. And the boys have vowed one unto the other that they're going to continue to swim.

You can get some idea of what this is all about if you send to the Federal Power Commission in Washington and ask for the latest copy of "Typical Electric Bills for Cities of 50,000 Population or More". This is a survey put out by the F.P.C. each year.

And every year, it's the same old story. All the lowest typical bills in every consumption category are in cities where there is public ownership. All the highest bills are in cities where Wall Street still has its claim staked out at every lamp post. It's become almost tiresome reporting these results year in and year out, so it was with a great deal of relief that this year I saw a new angle in the report which can be

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tied up with the failure of the St. Lawrence Seaway to get the go-ahead.

This year, for the first time, the report shows that all the cities where privately owned utilities are charging the highest typical b lls are in the area which would benefit from the cheap power produced by the hydro-electric projects planned in the St. Lawrence development. Here is the concrete proof of the oft-reiterated charge that the Northeast of this country is the last citadel of the power trust.

The F.P.C. survey discloses that, with two exceptions, the highest power rates in the nation for cities of 50,000 or over are being charged in the New England states. The other two cities are in New York state. Here are the comparative tables of the lowest and the highest rates in the 15, 25, 40, 100, 250, and 500 kilowatt hour brackets:

LOWEST			HIGHEST		
K.W.H.	City	Bill	K.W.H.	City	Bill	Per Cent Diff.
15	*Lansing, Mich.	$0.42	15	New Britain, Conn.	$1.32	214.3
25	*Lansing, Mich.	0.72	15	Waterbury, Conn.	1.32	214.3
40	*Tacoma, Wash.	1.10	25	Manchester, N. H.	2.00	185.7
100	*Tacoma, Wash.	1.70	40	Manchester, N. H.	2.80	154.5
250	*Tacoma, Wash.	3.20	100	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	5.20	205.9
500	*Tacoma, Wash.	5.30	100	New Rochelle, N. Y.	5.20	205.9
			250	Boston, Mass.	9.40	193.8
			250	Newton, Mass.	9.40	193.8
			250	Somerville, Mass.	9.40	193.8
			500	Lynn, Mass.	15.25	187.7

*Publicly owned systems.

It is worth noting that in the Pacific Northwest where the people have been public power conscious for years and where the city of Tacoma has owned its own utility system for almost a half century, the cost of 500 k.w.h. is only 10 cents more than the cost of 100 k.w.h. straight across the country in Manchester, N. H.

Tacoma, of course, has led the nation in the production and distribution of cheap electric power. In recent years, the whole section of that country has benefitted from Tacoma's example and by the development of the Columbia River's power potential by Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams. In New England, however, the people have had no such examples and have continued to pay unconscionable tribute to Wall Street for the privilege of lighting their homes. No great public power projects have penetrated the protective wall of graft and corruption the power trust has thrown around that area.

There is only one way that wall can be broken down—the power developments provided for in the St. Lawrence project. Once that power is generated and pumped out into the surrounding area through the highlines, the rates in New England and adjacent states will be forced down as they have been in the Tennessee Valley.

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We can't do business with this dictator

Abandon Peron Now!

B Edgar Ansel Mowrer

From his syndicated column

BOLIVIA'S latest revolution offers a heaven-sent opportunity for the United States to inaugurate the Braden policy in Latin America.

The late government was a stooge of Argentina. The new government—if we play our cards well—will be a firm friend of the United States.

Those misguided Americans who toy with the idea of appeasing Argentina or admitting Argentina to an inter-American defense system before insisting on the fulfillment of Argentine promises ought to try to get one simple fact in their heads—once and for all:

You can't do business with General Benito—excuse me—with General Juan Domingo Perón.

He is utterly untrustworthy.

He lies as often as he sneezes—and with the same insouciance.

In his relations with his own people, Perón has so systematically prevaricated that any who advocates putting faith in him should be given a legal guardian.

The Argentine "Jefe's" career is entirely constructed on deceit—like Adolf Hitler's.

He has lied consistently concerning his relations to the Axis powers and agents.

He has consistently duped his own adherents. He started his career with the support of conservatives and moneyed agrarians. Then he ditched these for a half-hoodlum labor movement.

Perón's most profitable lie to date was his verbal acceptance of the Mexico City decisions as the price of being permitted entrance into the United Nations.

Once admitted, he forgot to pay. He now says that he needed the consent of his "Congress". Congress, my eye. Considering that this dictator has deprived his Congress of all real power, this is just another piece of deceit.

Perón next lied about the amount of wheat Argentina would generously contribute—at a whopping price—to the relief of a famished world. U.N.R.R.A. is trying to hush the default. The truth is, Argentina has reneged on about half its undertaking.

In view of such a glowing past, Perón's latest denial of an alleged attempt to obtain from the Soviet Union's war booty the arms that the United States—despite certain gullible American generals—is still unwilling to furnish him, should find no believers.

Before discussing hemispheric defense with Perón, we should remember that his aim is to get arms, not to defend but to conquer or intimidate his neighbors.

Which means that far from

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abandoning, the United States should push the Roosevelt-Hull policy of thwarting the Argentine Mussolini with redoubled vigor.

During the war we might easily have eliminated this gentleman as a pro-Axis agent. This chance is over. With victory, the other American republics have fallen back on their traditional distrust of Uncle Sam. The Pan-American Union has just decided against a wise Uruguayan proposal. This was common acceptance of the principle of "multi-lateral collective intervention to protect essential human rights and to insure fulfillment of a nation's international obligations."

Had this been accepted, the American Republics could have given Senor Perón two months to fulfill his anti-Fascist, pro-United Nations promises—[redacted] had he failed, tossed him out.

Unhappily, the [redacted]merican Union committee, instead of supporting collective intervention, recommended the study of a resolution that "any intervention for whatever reason in the internal or external affairs of another state, is inadmissible."

This resolution not only is outmoded; it is almost certainly a violation of the United Nations' Charter which empowers the Security Council to intervene whenever necessary to prevent war.

If accepted, it will mean that no effective Pan-American regional organization in the western hemisphere can be created.

On the inter-American front, the United States has probably lost the fight against Perón.

Some timid or interested citizens are arguing that, in view of Perón's latest move to become pals with Stalin, Washington had better make up to the Argentine Mussolini.

Nothing could be more stupid. That all over Latin America Fascists and Communists are making common front against United States alleged imperialism should be a cause not for despondency but for rejoicing in the United States.

For even if collective American intervention be excluded, the United States possesses in the Braden version of the Hull policy a decisive weapon. This is what might be called "*negative intervention.*"

While abstaining from any interference in the affairs of any American republic, the United States has the means to offer or withhold support from these countries. Thus under the Braden plan, real democracies like Cuba, Colombia and Costa Rica would receive strong positive support. Friendly states like Mexico, Brazil, Chile and perhaps Bolivia would obtain immediate benefits. Offensive dictatorships like those of Argentina, Paraguay and Santo Domingo would be left to stew in their own meager juices.

The United States also could make sure that other outside countries did not supply the black sheep of the American continent with those aids to aggression the United States found it salutary to withhold.

Some Latin Americans would scream. Perón (and *Pravda*) would protest. But for every new enemy such a policy made for us in our fellow American republics, it would give us two new friends.

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The F. A. O. can win over the economists

War and Food

By James Rorty

From his column in The New Leader

DOES the world today possess the resources, natural and technological, wherewith to give every man, woman and child alive enough to eat? Most competent food scientists believe that it does. Most, but not all. The Cornell University Press has published *The World's Hunger,* a brief, condensed and highly explosive volume in which two competent food scientists, Frank A. Pearson and Floyd A. Harper, assemble some impressive evidence in support of their bleak Malthusian conviction that starvation still rules the world and will inevitably send it to war again, as it has repeatedly sent it to war in the past.

Sir John Orr, Director of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and by general admission one of the world's greatest living food scientists, says: "The F.A.O. is the answer to the atom bomb" and adds: *"If the people of the world cannot cooperate on something as basic as food, then we might as well sit back and wait to be destroyed."*

Sir John and the authors of *The World's Hunger* approach the problem from diametrically opposed points of view. The great Scot starts with the premise, stated over a decade ago in *The Englishman and His Food,* that "we cannot leave our food supply completely at the mercy of the economist. Foodstuffs cannot in all respects be classed in the same category as other commodities." Elsewhere Sir John has gone farther, declaring that a sane food policy will be possible only when the "power of money over the primary necessity of life is broken".

Messrs. Pearson and Harper are agronomists, that is to say, agricultural economists. They are eminent authorities on all the things that we can't do because we don't have the little paper symbols necessary to pay for them. By applying this orthodox pecuniary accountancy, they prove to their own satisfaction the correctness of the Hitlerian doctrine that there is not enough *lebensraum* for all of us on this planet, hence the more powerful and ruthless peoples must make room for themselves by killing off the weaker ones—when the "normal" incidence of famine and epidemic disease doesn't eliminate the "unfit" with sufficient celerity and thoroughness.

Yet these Cornell agronomists are certainly not fascists. Moreover, they present facts, and their motive in publishing them undoubtedly is the honest and creditable motive of applying a realistic brake to popular

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day-dreaming about food. The trouble is, first, that they do not present *all* the pertinent facts, and second, that their intellectual equipment for dealing with these facts is as dated, as inadequate, and as mischievous in its effects as that of most orthodox economists: a purblind priesthood which, if allowed to make the critical national and international decisions for the modern world, is quite likely to destroy us all.

When Sir John Orr denounced the "power of money" he should have added the "power of the money economists". It is literally as much as our lives are worth to keep these honest but limited and ineffably self-satisfied people in positions of authority at a time when the world has at most a decade of leeway in which to build, *with no reference whatever to how much it costs in terms of money or in terms of demand and supply economics,* a minimum floor of physical subsistence for the world's populations. Did such considerations stop us from undertaking the $2,000,000,000 Manhattan Project?

It is F.A.O.'s task to build this nutritional foundation of world peace—a task which Pearson and Harper are quite right in believing cannot be accomplished if we perpetuate, even for a few more years, the present pecuniary frustrations of science and technology; a task, finally, which *must* be accomplished if we are to win the present race with the atomic bomb.

Let us have a look at some of these neo-Malthusian facts on which Pearson and Harper base their pessimistic thesis. It is based chiefly on their estimate that of the world's total land area of 36,000,000 acres only seven per cent has *all* the factors of soil and topography, temperature, adequate and reliable rainfall, carbon dioxide and sunlight required for the growing of food. The production possible on this acreage, they admit, would be more than enough to support the world's present populations, but *only* if the world were prepared, first, to equalize the distribution of available supplies and, second, to drop to the grain-eating Asiatic standard of living. If, on the other hand, we attempted to bring the rest of the world up to the North American standard, with its 25 per cent of animal products, the present world production would maintain only a billion people or half the present world population.

That other students have examined the same data and come to different conclusions is acknowledged by the authors who cite the prewar estimate by the German geographer, Penck, that, if fully utilized, the world's arable soil would support four times the existing population. Other authorities have estimated that the usable agricultural acreage is not seven per cent but as much as 25 per cent of the land area.

Today few soil scientists would risk saying what is or is not "submarginal" agricultural land. The T.V.A. soil scientists don't know, and they have been trying to find out ever since 1933 when they launched the unique agricultural experiment that now embraces some 25,000 test-demonstration farms in the Tennessee Valley and another 10,000 scattered over the 48 states.

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Recently I visited a hill farm in East Tennessee which in 1936 would have been classified as third-class, sub-marginal land, fit only to grow trees. At that time, it was about equally divided between gullies and broom sedge and, supposing there had been a buyer, it might have brought $20 an acre. When I saw it, the steep slopes were covered with a thick carpet of bluegrass and clover that easily carried a beef animal to the acre—and what animals!

Starting from about $500 behind scratch, the farmer had boosted the income from his 52-acre farm to over $3,000 last year and more than doubled his total production of foodstuffs, while using less than half as much labor. He had been offered a war-inflated price of $200 an acre for his "sub-marginal" land — and wasn't selling.

What had turned the trick was super-phosphate, applied directly to his pastures at the rate of about 60 pounds of P205 to the acre, which is about the average consumption in New Zealand, the best dairy country in the world. Our average consumption is about two pounds to the acre. Before the war, Holland was using 40 pounds per acre and Denmark 20 pounds.

This particular test-demonstration farm was one of the best of them, but there are hundreds just as good. And the *average* increase of production obtained by these 45,000 test-demonstration farmers is over 30 per cent, not counting the immense additions they have made to the stored fertility of their soil. Apply this 30 per cent increase to all the farms that would benefit from similar treatment—believed to be nearly half the farms in America —and you get an addition to the world's feeding potential seemingly not dreamed of in the philosophy of these Cornell agronomists.

Pearson and Harper devoted only three pages to the whole subject of fertilizer, and say next to nothing about phosphate, which is probably *the* principal bottleneck of agricultural production, not only in this but in most other countries. Germany and Japan knew this and, in 1938, as a part of their preparations for war, they were importing, between them, 46 per cent of our phosphate exports of about a million tons a year. Congress knows it too, because in April, 1943, Senator Lister Hill, co-sponsor of the Hill-Bankhead-Flannagan Bill, told them all about it, demanding that "Our food production program must be organized no longer around a basic soil deficiency."

The reason that it is organized that way is not any lack of phosphate — we have enough phosphate reserves in this country to last hundreds of years. *The reason is the scarcity economics of the highly cartelized fertilizer industry,* this being the kind of economics represented by Pearson and Harper, and so flatly repudiated by Sir John Orr.

There are other omissions and serious underestimates in the calculations of the Cornell agronomists. But what makes their book particularly unfortunate, despite its usefulness as a compendium of pertinent statistical data, is the nutritional isolationism which is implicit in their analysis. This is as suicidal as any other kind of isolationism.

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FORUM: IS THE BARUCH PLAN F(

YES!

By Joseph C. Williams

ON August 6, 1945, 60 per cent of the Japanese city of Hiroshima was destroyed by a single atomic bomb. On August 8, 1945, a second atomic bomb explosion almost completely destroyed the seaport of Nagasaki. With these two explosions, a new era in warfare was begun; the military supremacy of the United States was temporarily established without doubt; and the United Nations were faced with the most difficult disarmament problem ever contemplated by peace-loving men.

If Americans were in any doubt as to the awful power of the new bomb, their comprehension grew with President Truman's official announcement of the bombing of Hiroshima:

> That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It had more than 2,000 times the blast power of . . . the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare. . . It is an atomic bomb. It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe.

At the same time, the President declared that he would recommend to Congress "the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States" and make further recommendations "as to how atomic power can become a powerful and forceful influence toward the maintenance of world peace".

A full year after the first fateful bombings, no national control of atomic power had been approved. Discussion of international control had just begun. Commentators might make something of the fact that the only real advances had been made in the military and naval fields: the Operations Crossroads tests at Bikini Atoll.

The very existence of the atomic bomb creates manifold problems in the international sphere. The fact that the United States holds the secret of its manufacture, has the plants for its production and, indeed, is in all probability engaged even now in producing more and better bombs, complicates our position in a new world order. On the one hand, so long as we retain the lead, our military supremacy is unquestioned. On the other hand, in the field of diplomacy when force is not desirable, exclusive possession of the A-Bomb secret has led to distrust on the part of our former allies—great and small. It may be maintained, with some justice, that Anglo-American and Russo-American relations have deteriorated since the end of the war partly because of our insistence on retaining exclusive control of the A-Bomb.

Yet if this were the only effect of the Bomb—if the United States could remain isolated in military supremacy and could retain exclusive control of

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ATOMIC BOMB CONTROL SOUND?

NO!

By Morley G. Dilke

MY opponent seems to base his support of the Baruch Plan for the control of Atomic Development on three premises. First, the fact that the atomic bomb is the most destructive weapon known to man. This, of course, is true. Second, the fact that it can only be controlled by an effective agreement not to use it. And third, that the Baruch Plan is such an agreement. I think that neither the second nor the third assumption is true.

My opponent also introduces the arguments for and against the veto into what is otherwise a simple case. I do not defend the veto. In fact, it seems to me to be obviously a power politics device, introduced not by Russia alone, but by Russia and the United States. The United Nations with the veto is not an organization to enforce a just and, therefore, lasting peace, but rather an effective device for maintaining the *status quo*.

Such devices never have been successful in the past. This is at least a good reason for suspecting they will not work in the future. Nevertheless, Mr. Baruch's plan specifically exempts only punishment for unauthorized use of atomic fission from the veto. My opponent seems to think as I do, that the effect of the veto is to strengthen the great powers at the expense of the small powers. I think that the Atomic Development Authority, combined with the veto in all matters except the use and development of atomic fission, will further strengthen the great powers because they will control the Atomic Development Authority. In fact, the Russians fear the A.D.A. more than they fear living in a world where we have atomic bombs and they have atomic bombs to develop.

BASIC OBJECTION

Russia's objection is a basic objection to the Baruch plan: that one nation, and we feel sure it is the more powerful of the two most powerful nations in the world, supports the plan while the second most powerful opposes it.

Mr. Baruch, in his speech supporting the proposed Atomic Development Authority, said:

> "If I read the signs aright, the peoples want a program, not composed merely of pious thoughts, but of enforceable sanctions—an international law with teeth in it. . .
>
> "It would be a deception, to which I am unwilling to lend myself, were I not to say to you, and to our peoples, that the matter of punishment lies at the very heart of our present security system. It might as well be admitted here and now, that the subject goes straight to the veto power

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atomic weapons—if all we suffered was the suspicion of our neighbors, it might be argued that we should retain the bomb. Fortunately or unfortunately, this is not the case. The possibility of our being able to keep atomic bomb manufacture secret indefinitely is extremely remote; even the possibility of our retaining the lead in the race for more and better bombs is negligible. The "secret" is only in the field of "know-how"—a secret of the technique of production. The background research is not only known to other nations but was developed by them. If the United States had been attacked and invaded while Russia had remained outside the fighting zone, it might well be that the Russians would hold the A-Bomb secret today.

NO DEFENSE

Nor can the United States hope to defend itself adequately against A-Bomb attack in the near future. The best scientific opinion is unanimous in its belief that neither the United States nor any other country dare assume that a defense against atomic bombing can be successfully planned. A-Bombs could be flown, rocketed or smuggled into this country—or built unobserved in a deserted cellar, attic or hidden cabin. Before detection, a series of such bombs could be exploded, seriously crippling the subsequent war effort of the victim nation.

Given, then, the terrible power of atomic bombs; given the fact that no adequate defense against A-Bombs has been devised; given the probability that other nations sooner or later will be able to manufacture A-Bombs, Bernard Baruch released the American plan for international control of the A-Bomb. Suggestions for the control of atomic energy were presented on behalf of the United States at the opening session of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission on June 14, 1946:

> The United States proposes the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority, to which should be entrusted all phases of the development and use of atomic energy, starting with the raw material and including:
>
> 1. Managerial control or ownership of all atomic energy activities potentially dangerous to world security.
> 2. Power to control, inspect and license all other atomic activities.
> 3. The duty of fostering the beneficial uses of atomic energy.
> 4. Research and development responsibilities of an affirmative character intended to put the Authority in the forefront of atomic knowledge and thus to enable it to comprehend, and therefore to detect, misuse of atomic energy. To be effective, the Authority must itself be the world's leader in the field of atomic knowledge and development and thus supplement its legal authority with the great power inherent in possession of leadership in knowledge.

It seems only intelligent to assume that all thinking Americans, in the light of the above facts, will agree to eventual international control of atomic energy. A system of world control must be set up as soon as possible, a system so comprehensive that no nation need fear a surprise atomic bomb attack. As Mr. Baruch has pointed out: "Before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it.

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It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against the offenders in the atomic area but against the illegal users of other weapons. . ."

ELIMINATION OF VETO

The heart of this problem, Baruch admits frankly, is the elimination of the veto power in the Charter of the United Nations "so far as it relates to the field of atomic energy". He maintains honestly that "there must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn promise not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes. The bomb does not wait upon debate. To delay may be to die. The time between violation and preventive action or punishment would be all too short for discussion as to the course to be followed.

It is on the elimination of the veto, the proposal to give atomic control to an Atomic Development Authority instead of to the Security Council of the United Nations, that the Russian objections to the plan are focussed.

It must be remembered that the veto power of the Five Big Powers in the Security Council was agreed upon long before the first atom bomb exploded in the desert of Santa Fé. The so-called Yalta Formula was submitted by the late President Roosevelt at the Crimea Conference in February, 1945. It unquestionably marked an advance over the voting procedure of the League of Nations. In the League, "substantive decisions of the Council (with the exception of parties to a dispute under Article XV), could only be taken by a unanimous vote of all its members." As Clyde Eagleton pointed out (in his article in *The American Political Science Review,* October, 1945); "The smallest and weakest member of the Council—perhaps a state of only a million inhabitants—could block action."

YALTA FORMULA

The Yalta Formula, on the contrary, limited the veto to those States whose power and size gave them added responsibility; i.e., the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China and France. The formula reads as follows:

> 1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote. 2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members. 3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members; including the permanent members; (provided that when action for the pacific settlement of disputes is under consideration, parties to the disputes must abstain from voting.

It seems obvious to me that the atomic bomb makes a significant difference in the responsibility of the Big Powers, based on their size and strength. A very small and weak nation could conceivably manufacture atomic weapons. An Atomic Development Authority controlling atomic weapons would have little reason to depend on either the troops or the naval power of the United States, Great Britain or the U.S.S.R. A small international air force and a supply of atomic bombs would give the international agency sufficient military power and relieve all Big Powers of their obligation to contribute

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manpower or material to stop an aggression. This fact, it seems to me, changes the picture that made the veto necessary.

In fact, the atomic bomb forces drastic changes in the concept of sovereignty. It was recognized at San Francisco that the Big Power veto was a concession to old-style power politics and "sovereignty".

EFFECT OF VETO

The effect of the veto is to strengthen the great powers, particularly Russia and the United States. With the veto in existence, the United Nations is a military alliance primarily designed to prevent the re-establishment of Germany and Japan as great military powers. It rests on the assumption that Germany was the aggressor in World War I and World War II in Europe, and Japan, the aggressor in World War II in the Orient, and the further assumption that either nation would start World War III given a reasonable chance. Perhaps there is a third assumption, that if neither Germany nor Japan start World War III, no other great power would start a world war.

In the second place, wars between smaller powers may grow until they become World Wars. Therefore, the United Nations, it is argued, can act as a group against any small power. This argument is not so strong as it looks. Presumably the United States could be counted on to veto action against Mexico, and Russia, to veto action against Poland in any doubtful case.

At any rate the net effect of the veto is that the great powers demand that the smaller powers trust the good faith and justice of the great powers, but they do not trust their own faith and justice as between themselves. The veto makes concerted action against one of the great powers theoretically impossible and practically much less likely. All history shows that states which were not aggressors in one century may become aggressors in the next. And all history shows that allies in one war may be enemies in the next. The U. N., because of the veto, cannot prevent this eventuality. The Security Council of the United Nations was not geared to prevent wars which involve the Big Five holding veto power. This was evident at the San Francisco conference. It was argued at that time that punitive action against one of the Big Five would result in war in any event, whether or not one side was sponsored by the majority of the United Nations.

THE A. D. A.

This is obviously true. Yet to ask the people of the United States to give up even temporary control of atom bomb secrets to an international organization which does not even pretend to be able to stop major wars is to ask the impossible. The people of the United States, rightly or wrongly, are not primarily concerned with the possibility of war with Germany or Japan. They are concerned much more immediately with the necessity of maintaining the position of the United States in relation to the position of Russia. They should not yield the advance knowledge of the bomb they still

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possess to rivals for military supremacy, nor to an international organization impotent to protect them against every powerful aggressor. The United States can safely yield the secret only to an international body such as the A.D.A., which is not hampered by veto provisions. Perhaps if the A.D.A. is successful without a veto, the veto will eventually be dropped altogether from the organization of the United Nations.

The Baruch plan represents a tremendous step forward in American thinking; to propose the end of the Big Five veto, including the veto power of the United States, is to recognize that the atom bomb has ushered in a new era in international affairs. The plan can be attacked by isolationists at home who refuse to believe what the scientists maintain—that the United States cannot keep the secret and cannot defend itself against A-Bomb attacks. The plan can be attacked by the Russians who are fearful of giving up their veto power, even if the United States gives up its own veto and the atomic secret as well. Once they discover that only on these conditions will the United States stop making bombs, they may change their minds. Once they discover that even if they, too, can make bigger and better bombs, the result will be indescribable chaos; the Russians, like the Americans who support the Baruch plan, may be willing to abandon old-style sovereignty for the mutual protection of the human race.

(Continued from page 241)

contained in the Charter of the United Nations, so far as it relates to the field of atomic energy. The Charter permits penalization only by concurrence of each of the five great powers—the U. S. S. R.: The U. K.: China: France: the United States.

"I want to make it very plain that I am concerned with the veto power only as it affects this particular problem. There must be no veto for those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes. . . .

"In the elimination of wars lies our solution, for only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production and use of dread secret weapons which are evaluated solely by their capacity to kill. . . ."

Mr. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet representative on the Security Council of the United Nations, stated in reply: "I should like to make clear again the position of the Soviet Union that we cannot accept any proposals that would undermine in any degree the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council in the maintenance of peace and security."

ROOT OF ENMITY

As my opponent states, obviously, the root of the disagreement between Russia and the United States is the use of the veto power. But, on the record, it does appear that the veto was originally a concept of the United States. Senator Connally, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, and Senator Vandenberg, ranking Republican member of that Committee, declared on the floor of the Senate in July, 1945, that the Yalta formula was proposed by President Roosevelt at Crimea and was accepted

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by the powers represented there. They claimed that to have repudiated it at the San Francisco Conference would have been tantamount to repudiating the pledged word of a departed leader.

In addition, Mr. Baruch flatly states, as the quotation above shows: "I want to make it very plain that I am concerned with the veto power only as it affects this particular problem." This leaves no doubt that so far as he is concerned the veto remains in all other fields. It is my contention that, with the veto power, the United Nations is a limited military alliance to which the United States belongs hoping that it may be able to preserve the peace. But the United States can best protect itself from the havoc of atomic warfare as it protects itself from the havoc of gas warfare—by the certainty of its ability to retaliate in full measure on anyone who first uses atom bombs against it.

On November 11, 1945, President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a joint statement on the control of atomic warfare, said: "We are aware that the only complete protection of the civilized world from the destructive use of scientific knowledge lies in the prevention of war. No system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against the production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we ignore the possibility of the development of other weapons, or of new methods of warfare, which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy."

Nothing that has happened since it was made has discredited this statement. The tests at Bikini Atoll have again shown how destructive the atom bomb is. But they have also shown how devastating its use would be both to victor and vanquished in any future war. And they show this so clearly that it seems obvious to me that stock-piles of atomic bombs strategically placed, known to exist, and of unknown size and location, would prevent the use of the atomic bomb as effectively and for the same reason that the fear of retaliation prevented the use of gas in World War II. Certainly no one knows that at some not too distant date we will not have an even more destructive weapon, nor can be be sure that no nation will evade the vigilance of the A.D.A.

In Mr. Baruch's words "the matter of punishment lies at the very heart of our present security system". So long as this is true, the possession of a stock-pile of atomic bombs at least makes retaliation a possibility. My opponent seems to believe that breaking down the veto over the use of atomic energy will inevitably lead to breaking down the veto in some or all other spheres. Certainly no one can tell what is in the back of the mind of either Mr. Gromyko or Mr. Baruch but neither of them has even mentioned this possibility.

Unfortunately, no nation surrenders sovereignty willingly and gracefully. H. E. Evatt, Minister of External Affairs for Australia, has opposed the veto from the San Francisco Conference until the present moment. But he does not oppose the veto only as it applies to the use of atomic fission

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against the rulings of the Atomic Development Authority. He has said, "I am satisfied that the retention of the veto of each permanent member upon the processes of conciliation in the Security Council was quite unnecessary in the interests of the permanent members—apart from being indefensible in principle."

On the other hand, at San Francisco, Senator Connally showed clearly that the issue was either the Charter with the veto or no Charter at all. In the course of one of his speeches, he tore up a copy of the Charter saying, "You may, if you wish, go home from this conference and say that you have defeated the veto. But what will be your answer when you are asked: 'Where is the Charter?'"

RENUNCIATION OF VETO

Mr. Baruch, in his speech advocating the A.D.A., states: "anything that happens, no matter where or how, which menaces the peace of the world, or the economic stability, concerns each and all of us." This is true, but he does not propose that we submit "anything that happens, no matter where or how, which menaces the peace of the world, or the economic stability," to decision by the Security Council without a veto and subject to the punishment that "lies at the very heart of our security system".

Nor would Russia consent to this any more than the United States. In fact, the veto provides effectively that no action can be taken against a permanent member of the Security Council. This is the eventual outcome of the famous "chain of events" theory. According to this theory, whenever the Council goes beyond the mere discussion of a dispute—whenever it decides to make an investigation, or to make specific recommendations to parties—its action "may well have major political consequences and may even initiate a 'chain of events,' which might eventually require enforcement measures. Any step beyond the discussion stage, therefore, might aggravate the situation and might embark the Council upon a course of action from which it could withdraw only with great difficulty. From this theory emerges the conclusion that the great powers must act as a team at every stage in the settlement of a dispute—that the veto must apply to peaceful settlement as well as to enforcement action."

Of the great states, it is fair to say that only France is primarily concerned with the possibility of Germany regaining her place in Europe. British and Russian interests clash wherever Eastern and Western Europe meet, at the Mediterranean, and in the Near East. The United States and Russia clash to a lesser extent in the Near East and in China, as well as whenever either seems to be growing fast enough to threaten to upset the balance of power. Prime Minister Evatt could argue and has argued that all such disputes could be better settled if no one of the great powers possessed the veto, but they are not backing him in this.

A further evidence of their primary concern with their own safety is Mr. Baruch's plan for the personnel of the A.D.A. Fundamental measure number 11 of the Baruch plan for an A.D.A. is: "(11) Personnel—The

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personnel of the Authority should be recruited on the basis of proven competence, but also so far as possible on an international basis." The dangers inherent in placing so much power in the hands of a small group are obvious No nation will delegate such authority to citizens of another state or even to citizens of other states willingly and easily. Certainly neither Russia nor the United States assumes that the A.D.A. will be made up of representatives of the smaller states, even though, as Mr. Evatt has pointed out in another connection, a group representing the smaller powers could be expected to give more dispassionate and, therefore, fairer decisions.

In conclusion, the most important objection to the Baruch Plan is that the Russians will not accept it willingly and the United States will not attempt to force them to accept it by atomic warfare now. Of course, it should not. If the people of the United Nations want the United Nations to become a body to enforce peace, they will have to consent to the elimination of the veto, not only in the punishment for the unauthorized use of atomic fission, but in all decisions of the Supreme Council. How many of them would or should agree to this is quite a different question.

• Eat, drink and be merry—for tomorrow you may not be able to afford it. —*Cincinnati Enquirer*

• The boss called one of his clerks into his private office. "I have noticed, Jones", he began, "that you, of all my clerks, seem to put your whole life and soul into your work. No detail is too small to escape your attention. No hours are too long for you."

Jones glowed with pride and anticipation of a promotion and an increase in salary.

"And so, Jones", his employer continued, "I'm forced to fire you. It is such men as you who go out and start rival establishments.

—*The Tattler*

• A Scotchman went into his backyard on Sunday morning to mend his wheel barrow. The loud hammering brought his wife to the door.

"Donald, Donald", she cried, "What are ye about on the Sabbath?"

"I tell ye, I must mend the wheel barrow. I want to use it," her husband answered.

"Ye must not", his wife replied. "What'll the neighbors say, or if ye do, ye must use screws".

—*Sunday School Chronicle*

• Sir Henry Irving was once a witness in a street robbery. The thief's lawyer roared at the actor: "At what hour did this theft take place?"

"I think—", Sir Henry began.

"It isn't what you think that we want to know", the lawyer interrupted.

"Don't you want to know what I think?" the actor asked mildly.

"I do not!" the lawyer replied.

"Well, then," Sir Henry said, "I might as well leave the witness stand. I cannot talk without thinking. I'm not a lawyer".

—*Armstrong Magazine*

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Aren't girls made of "sugar 'n' spice"?

My Lady

By Richard G. Kendall

From his column in the Portland Press Herald

I don't know of any small boy who aspires to be a little gentleman. For one thing, parents aren't insistent on the point as they were in my day. I suppose the reason for this is that fathers feel the kid might go too far and turn into a character with a limp wrist. Moreover, if the child is left to develop his own talents, he might become a $50,000 shortstop, a successful professional football player, or a heavyweight fighter whose fee ranges from three to six hundred thousand dollars per performance.

But I still think little girls ought to aspire to be little ladies. I am always painfully surprised when I look into the dining room and see my next to youngest casually walking on the table, stepping around the mashed potatoes and missing the meat loaf by a big toe. I shall add that usually she is barefooted.

That's another point for the psychologists. This little entry does not aspire to be a lady in any sense of the word. She absolutely refuses to wear shoes. She contrives to get dirtier than a stevedore on a coal barge. When I return home from work and she runs to greet me, I speak to her in a rich, minstrel accent. "Yuk, yuk, youall, honey chile. How all do you all fix ter git yo'se'f so blackface?"

At this point, she makes a flying tackle at my brittle old legs, and I clutch a handy light pole for support. One of the neighbors walks over to discuss the latest technique in throwing horseshoes. As we talk, my little girl hooks her hands in my belt and pulls herself up. I reach around back to steady her, and she climbs up on my shoulders.

I mention the high throw with one turn, and my hat comes off and scales down the street, propelled by a brisk tailwind. While my neighbor speaks of the end-over-end throw with two turns, a hand reaches down and pulls my glasses from a jacket pocket. Things have gone far enough. By squirming and using one or two old judo tricks remembered from a correspondence course in self defense, I dislodge this little girl who seems to be part Indian and part Pearl White.

She hurls herself at my neighbor, and he grunts as he fends her off. She produces a high, happy laugh, and heads for his wife who is standing nearby. Grabbing this patient woman by the arms, she then walks up and over, performing an old tumbler's trick. I swear I did not teach her that.

When the conversation is broken off I duck into the house, throw my hat in a handy chair, and flop on the couch for 10 minutes rest before supper. The door opens, and before

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it bangs shut a small blockbuster lands with a happy scream on my center section. Then follows the wrestling match of the century. I hurl her to the floor, and she yelps a war cry and hurls herself at me. I fend her off and holler to the kitchen that somebody I know ought to have a bath before supper.

"Bath?" she yells, indignantly. "Me take a bath? Oh, no!" and tears out of the house as if Old Nick himself were after her. I get a total of four minutes peace.

What is she going to be when she grows up? A lady wrestler? A judo instructor for the metropolitan police? A featured player in a Wild West show? I don't know, and it worries me. Whatever happened to dolls and jacks and other decorous games for little girls?

The anthropologist should study Main Street

Cases for Study

By Sydney J. Harris

From his column "Strictly Personal" in the Chicago Daily News

WHAT has always annoyed me about anthropologists is that they spend all their time digging up the quaint customs and manners of primitive tribes. Why don't they ever take a peek out of their own front doors?

Somebody ought to tip them off that there's stuff floating around today that makes Neanderthal Man look positively debonair. For instance, if they wandered down to the beach any afternoon, they'd get enough material for a treatise on the Ritual Gymnasts alone.

The Ritual Gymnasts are men who suffer from a deep compulsion-neurosis. The minute they get out on a beach, they begin walking on their hands instead of their feet. After a brisk 15-minute warm up, they start tossing each other around in the air with wild tribal chants ("Hup! Hup!") and often involve innocent spectators in their frenzied acrobatics.

Equally fascinating to the student of primitive cultures are the Blast Worshipers. This strange sect can be seen (or heard) on any residential street in the summer. All the windows in their house are wide open, and the radios are blasting out like a concrete-mixer with a bad case of asthma. This din can make the dishes rattle a block away, but apparently it doesn't disconcert the Blast Worshipers, who aren't listening to the darned thing anyway.

Closely related to the Blast Worshipers is a pagan sect known as the Horn Tooters, who believe in

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the mystic powers of the Horn God. These natives are convinced that if they blow their auto horns long and loud enough, red lights will instantly turn to green and all traffic ahead will magically melt away. Sometimes they even toot their horns when there is no traffic ahead, just for the heck of it. A barbaric tribe, indeed.

Our modern anthropolgists are also missing a bet in not tracking down the elusive Gum Dispensers. I have never seen one in action, but evidence of their busy little lives is plastered everywhere. They have an obsession about sticking wads of used chewing-gum on theatre seats, in telephone mouth-pieces, and on the rims of restaurant tables. I personally will offer five dollars for the scalp of every Gum Dispenser that is mailed in.

Oh, there's no need for the professors to delve into ancient Malayan customs. The millions of people who still go in for palmistry, phrenology and tea-reading haven't progressed very far from the prehistoric cultural level. Nor have the stunned and apathetic citizens who stand in line on the sidewalk outside a movie house for two hours, waiting to see a picture they've already seen a thousand times before.

All the anthropologists have to do is stroll down Main Street on a Saturday night, and they'd pick up enough lore on primitive folkways to make Mead and Benedict feel sick with envy. And 10 minutes inside one of those "intimate" theater-bars would send them screaming for a nice quiet picnic with the Borneo head-hunters.

The professors love to speculate at what hour civilization is going to end. My own interest is a more immediate. I'm wondering when civilization is going to begin.

• Sour Grapes—Dog Division

"And no matter to what dizzy heights Fala had risen while attending the councils of the great with his master, he stayed at the lobby level in Portland."

—News story from the *Portland Press Herald*

• A new maid left her job in a week. "What's the matter? Don't you like the people?" her friend asked.

"T'ain't that," the girl replied. "It's just that there's too much moving of the vessels for the fewness of the victuals."

• Obidiah Jordan was running for sheriff of a New Hampshire county. He approached Mrs. Rockwell one afternoon. "Get off my property, you good-for-nothing-loafer", she cried, brandishing the broom at him.

"But Mrs. Rockwell," he remonstrated, "I've just come to ask you if you will vote for me for sheriff".

"Sheriff!" snorted Mrs. Rockwell. "You ought to be in the lockup, not running it. You're a scoundrel and your father was a scoundrel and your grandfather was a scoundrel. Get out of my sight before I take this broom to you".

Obidiah scurried into his car and pulled out his notebook, writing, "Rockwell—Doubtful".

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Germany

What are the merits of the Molotov plan for a centralized Germany?

SOVIET PEACE PLAN

The Russian outline of the basis of a peace with Germany is the first official statement which shows the orientation of the Soviet Union toward the future Germany for which the Kremlin will press. What Mr. Molotov asked for was a unified Germany, national in character, on a self-sufficient economic basis in which German retention of the Ruhr would be essential, thus throwing out of the window the proposal that Germany be confined to an agricultural economy. From Germany, Russia asks for reparations of $10,000,000,000.

Despite the reparations figure of $10,000,000,000, which in itself flies in the face of the Potsdam Declaration, the Russian plan is bound to please the Germans. They feared that the Russians, outraged and embittered by the horrors of the Nazi invasion, would insist upon a Carthaginian peace. Instead the Russians propose a plan that gives them a clear-cut direction of their future as a unified nation, with an industrial-agricultural economy.

The Russian plan rejects the French argument for a Ruhr detached from Germany proper. It rejects the growing American and British sentiment for a federated Germany. It rejects the so-called Level of Industry Plan, in which the limits of German industrial production for peaceful uses were set. Its reparations demand of $10,000,000,000 goes counter to the Potsdam Declaration formula that reparations for the U.S.S.R. should be met "by removals from the zone of Germany occupied by the U.S.S.R. and from appropriate German external assets," along with an additional 10 per cent of the western zone's removable surplus, industrial capital equipment not needed for Germany's peace economy.

The Russian proposal puts the responsibility now upon the United States, Great Britain and France to come forward with their peace plans for Germany and thus join the issues.

The western powers are fearful—and with good cause—of a centralized Germany or a Germany that potentially can be highly centralized to wage economic and military war. It is not likely

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that they will accept the dismissal of the federation idea by Russia.

That the Russians emphasize the importance of the Ruhr as an issue is indicated by the fact that Mr. Molotov specifically repeats the idea of its integrity with Germany and the plan for a four-power control six times in one form or another in his statement. The Ruhr is the industrial heart of Germany, now in the British Zone. With the Russians possessing the power of the veto in the four-power control of the Ruhr, they would move their influence directly into western Europe and place themselves upon the frontiers of France.

France, whose very basic national interests in the Ruhr have been sacrificed by Russia in favor of Germany, will hardly tolerate this condition.

Already Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Molotov have taken issue on one item of the proposed treaty. Mr. Molotov wants to set up a German government and watch how it conducts itself and carries out its obligations before a peace treaty is made. Mr. Byrnes holds that a peace treaty must come before the setting up of a German government so that that government can sign it and be shaped by its terms. Mr. Molotov foresees a peace treaty only after a "number of years"; Mr. Byrnes favors one "without delay."

It may be that Mr. Molotov had his tongue in his cheek when he suggested that a plebiscite be taken of the German people to determine whether or not they wanted a federation, but he has hold of a good democratic principle, that a people have the right to be consulted as to the form of government they wish, which would be tenable in the issue the plebiscite would settle.

Nobody expected that the Russians and the other powers would agree amicably upon the terms of a German peace treaty. But the Russian proposal is not so black or discouraging as some sources would read it. Neither the United States nor Britain wants to impose a Carthaginian peace upon Germany. They subscribe to Mr. Molotov's thesis that Germany as a going concern is necessary for the economic and political health of the world. On the other hand, they cannot or will not subscribe to a peace for Germany that will bring her into the Russian orbit. We should be unrealistic not to see the tremendous difficulties that are before the powers in agreeing upon a treaty, but at least a start has been made toward a decision—and that can be set down on the credit side.

—*The Providence Evening Bulletin*

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RUSSIA'S PLAN FOR GERMANY

Outwardly the Russian program is not as startling as are its inevitable implications. What Russia wants is not only the complete demilitarization, denazification and democratization of Germany, already provided in the Potsdam agreement, but also a total of $10,000,000,000 in reparations and, what is even more important, the continued occupation and division of Germany into the present occupation zones until these reparations are paid. There is no doubt that Russia is entitled to the greatest possible reparations for the immense damage done her by the German armies. But France and other nations have also suffered damage, and Russia has already collected "reparations" beyond calculation. She has annexed more than a quarter of a million square miles with nearly 25,000,000 people and all their goods and chattels. She has turned some 40,000 additional German square miles with all that was in them over to her Polish satellite. She has millions of war prisoners working for her. If, therefore, Russia were to receive an additional $10,000,000,000 in reparations, France and the other United Nations would have to get at least as much.

That would bring the total within range of the sum imposed on a far stronger Germany with a far greater remaining productive capacity after the last war, with results that were catastrophic for world politics and world economy.

But the political implications of the Russian plan are even larger. Since Russia wants the greatest possible de-industrialization of Germany and enormous reparations as well, it is evident that Germany would have to pay over many decades. Even the mildest reparation settlement made some years after the First World War, the Young Plan, envisaged payments for 59 years. The rump Germany left by this war would require an even longer period. And during all this time, which might be 80 or 100 years or even more, Russian troops would continue to occupy their present zone, compelling the United States and Great Britain and France to maintain troops in their zones as well. This would mean the permanent partition of Germany and the complete sovietization of the Russian zone even under the central administration to which Russia agrees.

—*The New York Times*

RUSSIA AND GERMANY

The statement regarding Germany's future which Foreign Minister Molotov made to the Council of Foreign Ministers at Paris is greatly to be welcomed. Russia's position regarding

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Germany has been very much of a mystery up to now. The Molotov statement should help clear the air and thus enable the four powers to begin early discussions of a comprehensive German settlement.

This does not necessarily mean that Russia sees eye to eye with the other members of the Big Four on the German problem. Her attitude toward the Ruhr, for instance, is revealed as exactly the opposite of the French attitude. Molotov wants her deprived of economic and military potentialities that would enable her to rise again as an aggressive power. But he opposes excessive de-industrialization.

As a statement of principle, there is a great deal to be said for the Molotov declaration. But, in view of the differences between the Russian and the respective American, French and British points of view on the German problem, it may take a long time before any final agreement is reached. The first step that ought to be taken is to carry out clearly the directives of the Potsdam declaration and establish some kind of a central economic regime for all of Germany. The division of that country into four more or less hermetically sealed zones has resulted in trouble for all concerned. Over a long period of time, the United States and Great Britain have sought to remove the barriers blocking the movement of goods from zone to zone. Germany's food crisis, to cite but one important consideration, has been greatly aggravated by the circumstance that the food shortage areas of the West have, because of Russia's refusal to cooperate, been cut off from the food surplus areas of the East.

If Molotov's statement is the true expression of Russian policy, the elimination of internal barriers inside Germany and the setting up of some kind of a central German administration should not be too difficult to achieve. That is the great promise inherent in the Russian plan. Russia's intentions will be put to the test by the manner in which fulfillment is sought.

—*The Washington Post*

MOLOTOV'S GERMANY

Russia's sudden championship of a unified Germany is a challenge to America because it is plausible. Mr. Molotov's statement in Paris cleverly picks out the mischief in the occupation policies of the United States, Britain and France. His object, seemingly, is to embarrass the Western allies and gain political advantage by currying German favor. The Molotov document actually represents a skillful use of some desirable long-range objectives to gloss over what must be done to attain them.

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The Russians have an effective program for re-educating the German people, but it is strictly in the interest of Moscow. Thuringia and Eastern Germany are being communized. Their government is under leftist domination; education is on a sturdy propaganda basis.

In the economic sphere, the German partition is completely absurd. The insufficiency of food and raw materials in the United States zone is costing American taxpayers $200,000,000 a year. Soviet observers accuse us of leaving machines idle, but this idleness comes from lack of coal which the Russian zone should but will not supply. Factory output is about 80 per cent below prewar levels. Exports are only four per cent of imports, and we are left with what one American general termed "a giant relief project."

So much of what Mr. Molotov says makes sense. Unless the Western allies proceed with land reforms, as the Russians have done, the German people will have no confidence in our promise to replace Junkerism with democracy. Germany must not be too weak.

The other side of the Allied dilemma is that Germany must not be too strong. On that point, the Russian Foreign Minister accuses Anglo-American officials of neglecting to break up the German cartel system.

After proceeding with justice to this point, in calling for unity, Mr. Molotov proposes false tactics on the best way to achieve unity. He urges immediate creation of a central German administration, preparatory to a government, with the peace treaty to follow when the government has been tested.

What the issue comes to is this: how can there be unity without general agreement on it? If the Russian idea were to prevail, there would be a German government controlled by four powers who still would not agree on how to control it. There would be no decisive action on land reform, economic policy, reparations or demilitarization.

Especially would this be true if the Allies do not agree swiftly on fundamental economic problems. No central government could endure on the basis of the contemporary economy. Neither will anyone, German or non-German, be satisfied until the fate of the Ruhr-Rhineland-Saar region is settled.

America's position is that German reconstruction must not create further risk to Germany's ravished neighbors, and we will not budge from it.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

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Country Comment:
The Poor Market

IF I lived nearer Wall Street, I might feel differently about the market. Distance sometimes exaggerates sympathy. Possibly my impressions are overdrawn and distorted, yet how can I help pitying anything that creeps along, living on hope, but losing one day the small gains of the day before?

Around noon the rural mail carrier leaves my morning paper which I generally read at lunch, bringing to it a mood of hearty well-being. Perhaps I am savoring a dish of baked soybeans in cream sauce flavored with herbs, or reveling in a great bowl of salad, the very flower of my garden. Turning the pages as I eat, I come to the financial page.

MARKET LAUNCHES A MILD RECOVERY AFTER A THIN DAY

It is as if a cold mist suddenly shrouded the sun. There has been a slight recovery, to be sure, but only after a thin day. The pity of it—a thin day!

Sometimes I encounter the financial page before lunch. I have been working in my garden or perhaps just moving about, enjoying the prosperity of my vegetables: the lettuces and cabbages like enormous green roses, the feathery foliage of the carrots, the luxuriant vines of the tomatoes. The mailman arrives, and, as I walk back to the house from the mailbox, I glance through the paper.

MARKET BEGINS TO LOOK BETTER BUT IS CAREFUL

In spanking clear weather, I like to take the paper up on my roof-deck after lunch and read the news while I take the sun. I am alone with the sky and a few birds sweeping across and the waving tops of trees and a hill half-showing through the branches. This is the top of the day as well as the top of my house. I tingle with sun as I turn the pages.

WITHOUT ANY NEWS TO ACCOUNT FOR IT STOCKS SAGGED TODAY IN A THIN MARKET

I do not mean to imply that news of the market, or indeed any news at all, has too great an influence in my life. There are times, and I think justifiably, when the news gets pushed aside. Friends come for the day, and we go mountain-climbing. Late afternoon when we get home, we are hungrier for food than for something to read. Our feet keep the feeling of long green trails. Our eyes bring back summit visions. Perhaps I do not get around to reading the paper until I go to bed.

Healthily weary as I am, I nod over the front page. Trying to read an editorial, I catch myself dozing. And perhaps before I even reach the financial page at all, I give up and turn off the light.

THE DIRECTION WAS A BIT CLOUDY FROM THE START AND PRICES WERE WELL JUMBLED AT THE CLOSE

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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The Toryism of Ann Bridge

By George F. Whicher

Professor of English, Amherst College

DISCERNING readers have come to know that a new novel by the Englishwoman who writes under the pseudonym of Ann Bridge provides an unfailing bright spot in the season's output of fiction. This has never failed to be true since her first story, *Peking Picnic,* appeared in 1932 as *The Atlantic Monthly* prize novel.

Superficially, Miss Bridge's books present a succession of unhackneyed backgrounds ranging from North China to the Dalmatian coast. They offer an experience of travel in exotic regions with the companionship of a trained, observant, conversable and well-informed guide. One could read them with pleasure merely for the glimpses of strange cities, the bits of curious archæology, the intimacy with unfamiliar flowers, birds, and the lovely vignettes of mountains and blue skies with which they are stored.

Each book is distinguished by pure brilliance of color. It stands out from the mass of novels like a Spanish shawl hung out to air alongside the hebdomadal household wash.

But the charm and freshness of the settings are only incidental to the author's deeper intentions. For all her interest in landscape, in vigorous outdoor activities, in botany, architecture and linguistics, Ann Bridge is essentially concerned with human beings and the values of living. Her plots nearly always deal with problems of adjustment. How to be truly at home in the universe, how to find the utmost satisfaction in the allotted span of life, how to surmount disappointment and frustration with banners flying—these are the questions that characteristically occupy her healthy, sensitive and well-stored mind. They are not questions to be lightly answered, and Miss Bridge does not offer any conventional solutions. The spontaneity of her approach is a token of her sincerity.

Both her knowledge of unfamiliar backgrounds and her concern for the quality of life that people lead come to her naturally. She has visited odd corners of the world as the wife of a distinguished British diplomat. As the child of an American mother and an English father and as one who spent much of her girlhood in Italy, she has, from an early age, been conscious of national differences. She has kept her eyes open and made comparisons. Her conclusions are her own.

Her latest novel, *Singing Waters,* is projected against a marvelously vivid background of the lingering pastoral life of High Albania, where the patterns of custom have changed little since the Middle Ages. The

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native dress of the men, for example, is still marked with tokens of mourning for the death five hundred years ago of the national hero, Scanderbeg. The Albanian way of life is nearly as patriarchal as that of Abraham and Sarah in the Old Testament. Miss Bridge characterizes it as "the life that has been fundamental to European civilization—peasant life alongside the life of the aristocratic landholder, the fellowship of the soil." Her pictures of the household of a traditional chieftain, living as his ancestors had lived for countless generations, are unforgettable for their touches of primitive grandeur.

In shaping the plot of her present story, Miss Bridge has been at some pains to contrast an artificial product of modern urban society with a representative figure molded by the power of a genuine and timeless civilization. The two extremes are embodied in Gloire Thurston, a listless and disconcerted cosmopolite, and Madame Lek-Gionaj, the wife of an Albanian *kapitan,* whose extremely functional womanhood has flowered in the traditional patterns of her race, the oldest on the European continent.

Gloire, whose complete detachment from any form of cultural stability is well suggested by her incredible name, is a glamorous creature with honey-dark hair, a combination of great physical attractiveness and mental immaturity. Spoiled by an indulgent mother, she has known only the life of hotels and country houses. But she has the good fortune to marry an aristocratic Englishman, Tony Thurston, who takes her in hand and starts to make her over by a hard course of climbing in the Alps. Through him, she catches a sense of what a disciplined and well-directed life can mean, enough to give her what she calls later her "chance to be different". Then her husband is killed while climbing in the Himalayas, and she relapses to the misery of purposeless wandering from place to place.

A few words of sympathetic counsel from a thoughtful Swede named Nils Larsen, whom she encounters on her travels, sends Gloire on an impulsive expedition to Albania. Luckily the American consul at Tirana, Warren Langdon, and his Boston spinster sister are her friends of long standing. They are pleased to introduce a visitor so exciting to diplomatic society. But Gloire's heart is set on seeing the untouched life of the interior, and, through the kindness of Susan Glanfield, an English novelist, she is included on an official tour of inspection under the protection of a British officer of the Albanian gendarmerie. As the guest of the Lek-Gionajs, she encounters all the inconveniences of swarming flies, no plumbing and the set formalisms of native hospitality. But, through an accident to Miss Glanfield, she is detained long enough to discover behind these surface annoyances the quality of life that is entirely controlled by acceptance of traditional ways.

The exemplar of this life at its best is Madame Lek-Gionaj, a huge woman, mother of many children and unchallanged mistress of her household. With her magnificent physique and gorgeous native dress,

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she controls every aspect of the family, moving through her daily round of duties with majestic rhythm, obviously leading a life of complete fulfillment. She is a companion and wise counselor of her husband when he has difficult decisions to make and the instructor of her daughters and the other girls of the menage in the immemorial traditions of the hearth. As Gloire watches the life of the family from day to day, she becomes increasingly aware of how the foundations of civilization must be laid in the creation of solid and wholesome character, and the structure sustained by unceasing personal effort on the part of wise leaders. In the face of this revelation, her own false individualism comes to seem extremely petty.

At the Lek-Gionajs, Gloire also encounters an unexpected apparition, Dr. Emmeline Crowninshield, an old New England woman whose restless idealism had driven her to study medicine and to carry her skilled knowledge to the place where it was most needed. She has spent a lifetime battling against heavy odds to teach Albanian women something of hygiene and the care of babies. Nils Larsen, the Swede whose almost casual words had deflected Gloire into the Balkan highlands, joins the party, merely on vacation. It would have been an easy and conventional ending to let Gloire find in him the one man after her late husband who could deliver her from a life of egotistic trifling. The solution that Miss Bridge finds, however, is not the expected one, though it provides for her heroine's continued regeneration.

On this thread of narrative, the novelist has strung a good many comments, spoken of course through her characters, on the larger social and political adjustments of our time. The greatest problem of the twentieth century, as she sees it, is to subordinate industry and mechanization to human values, to see to it that man's dignity and the possibility of self-respect are not lost sight of during a period of unexampled change in the conditions of living. The danger is that material prosperity will be valued above moral and æsthetic considerations, and that the world will degenerate into a mechanized barbarism. The problem appears in its most acute and poignant form when an ancient stronghold of pastoral civilization like Albania is suddenly threatened by the invasion of the vulgar and blatant materialism of Fascist Italy. The time is 1935.

All the American and English characters in Miss Bridge's novel are aware of this danger and are eager to forestall it if there should be any human possibility of doing so. They all recognize that the simple folk-ways of the Albanian peasants are a precious inheritance, not lightly to be discarded. Consequently, the book becomes in part an informal symposium on how a mechanical civilization can be prevented from supplanting one which gives appropriate exercise to human capacities. Miss Bridge's answer is that of a conservative Briton, who sees in the control of society by a responsible governing class the only possibility of resisting the degradation and anarchy that occur when power falls into the hands of what Rebecca West has called "the mindless, tradi-

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tionless, possessionless urban proletariat."

Like a good British Tory, Ann Bridge is a firm believer in aristocracy. She has seen it work. Responsibility cannot be inculcated in the mass of mankind, but a few families accustomed to leadership may transmit an inheritance of capacity to carry the burden for others. There is nothing degrading in recognizing the fact that some men are more competent than others. An aristocracy of rank is more stable and wholesome than an aristocracy, if it can be called that, of wealth. Furthermore, "to assume, as the yellow press assumes, that all members of the aristocracy are just restaurant play-boys, like the modern rich of the towns, is to condemn oneself as ignorant, as ungrateful, and as ungracious."

If the aristocratic principle is to be admitted, it will flourish best under a constitutional monarchy, and in countries small enough not to be troubled by the nightmare urge to dominate their neighbors or by the false hope of being able to protect themselves singlehanded if they can only establish a sufficiently large armaments industry. Size and the desire to seize power, as currently shown by Italy and Germany, lead to insufferable vulgarity, blatancy and vain glory. The Scandinavian countries, Finland, Holland and Belgium are all "quiet, modest, efficiently democratic, and civil spoken." Even Britain, though a great power, is saved from the evils of gigantism by its manageable extent and by its long tradition of self-respect in public life. It does not escape Miss Bridge's notice that all these examples of civic decency are governed by constitutional monarchs, with the single exception of Finland. Democracies, in her opinion, are still "experimental."

Though Italy, then embarked on its slimy course of conquest in Ethiopia, supplies the most immediate instance of the breakdown of civilized controls, Miss Bridge looks with special apprehension at the United States, where the process of mechanization has occurred faster and gone further than anywhere else. Hence she feels that in America the human spirit has unknowingly suffered the most damage. Since enormous economic power is centered in the United States, it is a tragedy to the entire world if that power is not administered with mature and far-seeing wisdom. As the thoughtful Nils Larsen puts the matter: "Questions constantly arise and confront a nation to which it is vitally important to find the right answers. But if the men in leading positions in that nation have not a wide philosophic outlook; if they are men of little intellectual ballast or anchorage, who tend to be swept away by the moods and catchwords of the moment — like the general mass of men who derive their cultivation from the public prints—the wrong answer is found. And this is a great loss, and peril, to any nation."

It is not a trivial matter to Miss Bridge, consequently, when Americans allow their cultural standards to be depreciated, when they confuse education and technology, when they encourage high-pressure salesman-

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ship to the point where their power of discrimination is atrophied and when they demand that the press shall always present the news as a sensation instead of a sober fact. The American standard of living is more and more a material standard, "which," says Miss Bridge, "many people think ridiculously and unwholesomely high". We think too much of comfort. America, finally, has built up "a great structure of material luxury to keep out the empty spaces of the spirit".

While attacking American complacency and the fallacies of libertarianism, the novelist has taken care to do justice to individual Americans. Warren Langdon, the American consul, and his sister are people of good will and shrewd insight. Dr. Crowninshield illustrates "one of the best possible types, the good New Englander. . .durable and resistant as the native granite that juts out through the calm green of their pastures, just below the soil everywhere—a hint to the stranger of what to expect from the inhabitants." And even Gloire, though a self-indulgent creature, has a core of genuineness which responds to the genuineness she encounters. It may fairly be asked how such excellent types managed to emerge from such a decadent civilization. The answer seems to be that they are examples of what Americans used to be, but cannot be expected to be any longer if the process of disintegration continues.

One may admire Miss Bridge's staunch loyalty to the excellence of the British aristocratic tradition, and still doubt whether that tradition is so fundamental to civilization or so capable of universal application as she seems to believe. One of the most influential founders of our institutions, Alexander Hamilton, who grew up in the British West Indies, wished to see a constitutional monarchy established in the United States and doubted whether the Republic could long endure. Yet we have somehow managed to get along without the blessings of a king. In our Southern states before the Civil War, we developed what closely approximated a landed aristocracy in the European sense, but, in the end, we were obliged to take rather costly measures to get rid of it. The plain fact is that the American tradition has never tolerated the assumption of superiority implicit in the idea of aristocratic leadership. It has preferred the more wasteful method of drawing leaders from the plain people.

The two branches of the English-speaking race might have a very pretty argument on the lines Miss Bridge has laid down, but, since her novel was written, the debate has become an academic one. Only the other day it was possible to think of the gradual introduction of industry into the Balkans, of wise and disinterested foreign guidance, of factories carefully placed to form an integral part of village life, of good roads, water-power and electricity for all, and above all, of the salvage of human dignity. But today the headlines read: "Russia fortifies Albania," and in the face of that stark announcement any talk of "the fellowship of the soil" and civil decencies seems outmoded.

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Red Barn

Impressionist sketch
On the Spring mud,
Against the blue sky
A daub of bright blood.
Impetuous Summer
Fills in the scene,
Red against blue,
Red upon green.
Harvest is here,
The colors are bold,
Red against blue,
Red upon gold.
Winter then brings
Diminishing light,
Red against blue,
Red upon white.

—*SAMUEL YELLEN*

En Passant

To see what I have seen,
In this place, this day:
Two, moving through the green,
In just this way:
With the hands touching—so,
And silence between . . .
To see this is to know,
Is to have seen
Heaven and earth and the way
That leads between,
And two who passed, today,
Through the year's green,
Going that way.

—*DAVID MORTON*

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The historical perspective

Pearl Harbor

By Royce Brier

From his column "This World Today" in the San Francisco Chronicle

HISTORY is full of mysteries. The assassination of Caesar was one, the St. Bartholemew's Day Massacre was another. The Conway Cabal against George Washington and the activities of Secretary of War Stanton following the assassination of Lincoln (not the assassination itself) have never been fully cleared. The death of Adolf Hitler seems likely to baffle research.

And Pearl Harbor has been a mystery since the day it happened, and may remain one forever. We have now had two major reports on it, and several minor investigations. The Roberts report, resulting from an investigation made during wartime, was necessarily limited in scope. It could not be wholly frank in the face of the enemy.

A joint congressional report issued recently has certain obvious shortcomings. It is probably impossible at so early a date to carry on an impartial investigation. This is not in derogation of the congressmen, who are conscientious so far as one knows, but it is simply the way life goes. The detachment required properly to balance and apportion the weight of facts in any event in history, can only be attained with time.

The circumstance that two Republicans opposed the majority report and held the Roosevelt Administration responsible for Pearl Harbor, while another Republican had reservations about the main report, is in itself unfortunate, as was the circumstance that none of the six Democrats on the committee had any reservations about the report. It is probable the American people, while they are not politically impartial, would prefer that, in this case, political impartiality be attained. Ten years from now they will be still more insistent on the point. That is the way life goes, too.

It is impossible to say it has been attained yet, for the only way to attain it is to reach conclusions without regard to one's political sympathy or lack of sympathy for the principals in the event.

The greater part of the comment, conjecture and explanation about Pearl Harbor for almost five years has been suspect. The greater number of the causes and incidents to the attack, of which the "Winds" message is an example, have been partisan and pushed with prejudicial motives. Some have been subtle and some have been crude, but most have been near-phony, phony or irrelevant, and no great wizardry has been necessary to discern it.

It is possible Americans of the next generation, blessed with per-

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spective, will brush aside the greater part of the detail leading to the event of December 7, 1941, and arrive at a somewhat simpler view of it. They may conclude that Mr. Roosevelt was neither saint, fiend nor dummy, but that he acted about as any intelligent yet prudent president would act, given the circumstance of his office and his responsibility, plus the state of mind of the people.

It may be the future American will conclude that given the state of mind of the people, plus the intent of the Japanese enemy, something resembling Pearl Harbor was bound to occur roughly between the middle of 1941 and the middle of 1942. That is, a surprise attack somewhere on American soil was bound to occur.

The state of mind of the people was the first of two vital elements insuring attack. But a state of mind of any people is not something only of the tangible present. It incorporates the tradition and moral viewpoint of a people, and these emerge from the past.

Any normal American adult can remember our state of mind: the Japanese were an impertinent, moderately contemptible, exceedingly remote people. The vast majority of us living east of the Rockies had never seen a Japanese to know one, nor given more than fleeting thought to the whole race, its capacities or shortcomings.

Whereas, we were strong, great and fought always in self-defense, licking whoever had the gall to attack us. We were a little afraid of Hitler, but of no one else on earth. So we were asleep to the historical realities, of which the deep, corrosive, white-hating Japanese malevolence of years was one reality. This torpor in some degree ran everywhere, yes, even in the mind and heart of the President. So all of us to a man were struck dumb by Pearl Harbor. Not one of us could honestly say he saw it coming, there or anywhere. To Roosevelt, Short, Kimmel and Joe Doakes it was a crazy act, quite like a crazed man in a street whipping out a gun and firing at random.

Was it a crazy act? It turned out to be, because it was Japanese self-destruction, but it was only crazy in the sense that brooding hate and ambition had become pathological, unhinging a whole people. Here is where the second vital element, Japanese intent, enters.

The Japanese had a goal. It had grown as a vision over the modern years, soaked into their racial soul. It was to dominate the Asiatic peoples. If America would not acquiesce, either: (a) the dream was futile, or (b) America must be made to acquiesce by force. Between these granite alternatives the tension in the Japanese soul exploded. They chose.

The military details, the method, the time, the place, were incidental. They thought the day and the world circumstances were propitious. They weren't. That's their funeral. Ours was that right from Mr. Roosevelt down we didn't know anything about the Japanese, and as for the mass of us, we cared less.

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

ONE WORLD OR TWO?

WILLIAM B. Ziff's approach to the problem of keeping the peace is realistic enough to suit the most radical mind. I use the words "most radical" advisedly, for, in the Kremlin, the planners might well see encouragement for their ambitions; not that Ziff is Communistic, but he courageously recognizes the power and the threat that go with a battening Soviet.

Two Worlds, (Harper's, $3.00), is a brutally frank and fearless appraisal of world forces today, and a criticism of our own indifferent foreign policy, geared to makeshifts, and not planned for an ultimate era of permanent peace.

In his preliminary chapters, Ziff outlines the faults of the League of Nations where, basically, the error lay in making rules for states instead of rules for peoples. Here the bald fact is that national interests must supplant international amities. The same weakness has always prevailed in such organizations whether in the Congress of Vienna or our own early colonial federation. Alignment of public interest is a necessity, and it is upon this idea that the author bases his final suggestions.

In the United Nations plan, he finds much theory but too little attention to actual problems. He is far from optimistic about its future. There are at least two worlds: the world of western democratic ideology and that of Russian ideology. The latter has leaped to the forefront of world power and politics. As previous writers have pointed out, the United States and Russia must get get along together or the world will be in flames again. As Ziff sees it, however, present policies are all makeshifts. There is as much possibility for the Soviet system to expand as there is for the American system.

The Russians are planning, not an increased international trade, but a self-sustaining economy. Ziff does not condemn this ambition; it is a statement of a condition. Against this, there is the British struggle to hold back the wave of economic freedom that has spread over the smaller nations. With the political bankruptcy of Europe has come a bid from Asia for both political and economic liberty. It is noted that the Soviet system offers something to the Asiatics that we do not; something that British interest forbids.

Ziff believes it is possible that the wave of Communism has passed its crest while socialist strength is increasing. This creates an opportunity for intelligent effort to find a middle way to security. On the one hand, there is the constant friction between Russian and British

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ambitions, an age-old story. On the other, there is the blunt fact that United States' might and wealth must side with Britain. Yet it is Britain that is holding back progress in the Near and Far East, for reasons of empire—a decadent form of government. The spark for World War III might well fly in China where Russia and Britain struggle. The analysis of that situation is as lucid and reasonable as it is forbidding.

Unfortunately, the author's suggestion for a possible solution is so radical that few can be expected to be prepared for it. He believes that, the overwhelming mass of world population being Asiatic, a single world federation would be dominated by Asiatics. The Streit plan of ideological union would make for friction by opposing systems. "Spheres of influence" can only lead to war. Ziff's solution is the renunciation by the United States of the principle of equality of all nations, and the substitution of a federated union, open to all nations, in much the manner of our own states. Continental limitations would be removed; the federation could be globe-wide. Language, religion and other aspects of cultural nationalism would not be affected, but the economic needs of all could be fairly satisfied.

Whether this is possible or practical is a matter for study. The point is that Ziff freely discusses the things many of us fear but won't admit. He looks forward and not backward on antiquated policies. *Two Worlds* is a book that makes it impossible to say the world is not forewarned. Whether world federation is the answer is of lesser importance than the awakening to a realization of the world's future.

Russia on the Way, by Harrison Salisbury, (Macmillan, $3.50), is not a volume of opinion but an interesting chronicle of a United Press correspondent in Russia for eight months during the war. With its detailed descriptions of peoples and incidents, it affords a close-up of wartime living in 1944. Salisbury criticizes without scolding and enumerates plenty of failings but apparently has the friendliest sentiments toward the people. He believes the Russians are less concerned about international Communism than we think, and he also appraises Stalin as a more beneficent dictator than we picture him. His opinion is that, while Russia and the United States may, and will often, disagree, the Russian people have no idea of ever going to war with us; that, underneath surface politics, there is liking and respect.

Louis Bromfield takes time out from his farm and his fiction to discuss the world and its ills in *A Few Brass Tacks,* (Harper's, $2.75). Writing as an intelligent citizen, and not as an economist, he weighs the differences between real wealth and money and the New Deal's former scarcity economy against the economy of abundance. He is enthusiastic for a return to and development of the soil and for the advantages of the competent farmer over the urban industrial worker. It is noted that he sees Russia as a nation of real wealth, advancing economically, and Britain as a nation

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rapidly waning economically and politically. A possible solution would be one federation, headed by the United States, and another headed by Russia, powerful enough to cooperate and perhaps intelligent enough to form a United States of the World.

BRIEFER COMMENT

CURRENT TOPICS

Candid recognition of the color question as a problem with two sides makes *A Negro's Faith in America,* by Spencer Logan, (Macmillan, $1.75), a modest, reasonable appeal for thoughtful cooperation. He mentions the well known intolerances of the white world, but he also condemns those Negroes who threaten rather than endeavor to educate. Logan discusses frankly some aspects of the social pattern which are known but genteelly overlooked, and suggests changes which would help the white world as well as the Negro. The author's simplicity and earnestness are reflected in a straight forward style.

Guido Rosa has something more than a travelogue in *North Africa Speaks,* (John Day, $3.50). It is the record of some months spent in Algeria and Morocco, and, by word and photograph, Rosa tries to convey something of the spiritual background of the people as well as their customs. There is Oriental resignation and philosophy: the Senegalese guard who arrived at "the conclusion that woman is one of nature's mistakes" is not flattering but typical.

Four essays from the pen of the Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset, form the volume *Concord and Liberty,* (Norton, $2.75), and the many who admire the author will find his usual intelligent thinking and clear reasoning. The title essay is on political freedom; another is "Notes on Thinking"; a third, "Prologue to a History of Philosophy" and the fourth, "A Chapter from the History of Ideas." It will prove inspiring to any student of philosophy or to any one interested in the study of that strange animal, man. The first three essays were written earlier in the forties; the fourth, thirteen years ago.

OF GENERAL INTEREST

Those who are in the writing game, and those who would like to be, can find encouragement as well as humor and understanding in *Writers and Writing,* by Robert van Gelder, (Scribner's, $3.00). Editor of *The New York Times Book Review,* Van Gelder has interviewed scores of authors since 1940, and here sets down, without much comment, what each told him of his work, personal idiosyncrasies and thoughts. Little padding is added; it is just the wool itself, in brief chapters. The reader can learn a lot about his favorites—and those he doesn't favor. It is an entertaining and educational volume on literary life.

The coming of the atomic age,

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with its incitement to renewed interest in scientific works, is evidenced in a new, revised edition of *A Treasury of Science,* edited by Harlow Shapley, with Samuel Rapport and Helen Wright, (Harper's, $3.95). With nearly 800 pages of selections from the works of the world's leading authorities, there is considerable information for the general reader—more than enough to post him on causes and effects and man's universe. The section on atomic fission is, of course, new and based on official and government reports.

There has been a fair crop of novels and biographies built around one or several of the many wives of Henry VIII. Now comes *Fanfare for Elizabeth,* by Edith Sitwell, (Macmillan, $2.50). Most of the volume is devoted to a picture of the court, Henry's various wives, mistresses and intrigues. Most of it has been told before, and sometimes in more interesting fashion. While quotations from contemporary and other sources lend credence to opinions and statements, they make the reading uneven and dull.

You Can Talk Well, by Richard C. Reager, (Rutgers University Press, $2.50), doesn't quite belong in the "everyone-was-surprised-when I-started-to-play-the-piano" class. It is made up of serious suggestions for improving one's speech, poise and manner. There are included parliamentary rules and procedure, and a host of hints on how to "wow" the public. This portion might well have been omitted (but then probably there are more people who want to study how to influence people than there are those who like to mind their own business).

The atom bomb may have competition in the race to bring civilization to an end. *Get In There and Paint,* by Joseph Alger, (Crowell, $1.50), is high-pressure urging for the release of that restraint which keeps would-be amateurs from making "art artists" of themselves. Alger would have you—or me—buy a few supplies, spread them on the dining room table and become a home-grown genius. You can try it if you like; it's not my idea of what belongs on the dining room table.

The current urge and necessity for home building brings a revised work on building, *Camps and Cottages,* by Charles D. White, (Crowell, $2.75.) It is intended more for the ambitious amateur than the professional builder, and contains enough detailed diagrams and instructions to warrant attempting that long-dreamed-of haven in the woods. It seems quite practical, if you know anything about tools and their use.

FICTION

Companions of the Left Hand, by George Tabori, (Houghton, Mifflin Co., $2.75), is fiction, with a sometimes stark realism. It is the story of a Viennese playwright, now 60, and his sojurn in Italy in 1943, when the old order was a memory and war activated most lives. The story is less concerned with the war than its effects on characters, of whom there are not too many. Each is skilfully and carefully etched, from Farkas, the playwright, to little Tony, the unhappy Jewess. Tabori's work is not artistic only, there is life and action in the pages, and a touch of cynicism to boot.

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Against a New England background, a Harvard group of intelligentsia and a situation born of the late war, Helen Howe has fashioned *We Happy Few,* (Simon & Schuster, $2.75). It is a modern novel with a keen sense of human values and frustrations, excellent style and sustained interest in characters who think and act much like living people.

While a bit belated for a war story, *Love from London,* by Gilbert W. Gabriel, (Macmillan, $2.50), finds its justification in a graphic picture of bombs in London, in personal reaction to civilian life and, above all, in the lives of three American soldiers, each of different origin. There is a youngish girl, center of interest of the three, and there is an irresistable current of tragedy in which all are caught. The backtracking of the narrative and the brusque shifts in scene reflect the action, but slow the reading.

This being a season for stories on advertising, along comes *Please Send Me, Absolutely Free,* by Arkady Leokum, (Harper's, $2.50). It purports to tell the story of a hopeful's rise, by hook or crook—hooking on to a woman's skirt or crooking the elbow—to importance in the publicity world. Unfortunately, the author has devoted more space to pleasant dalliance than to advertising, which is still a business based on work and ideas. One can get ideas from the book, but hardly on publicity.

To conclude (I hope) this sticky business about the gay blades in advertising and radio, here's *The Big Noise,* by Fielden Farrington, (Crown, $2.50). Its central figure is an egotistic young man who, from radio crooner to radio director, makes his way via bluff, prevarication and the ladies. By this time the gentle reader will have concluded that the essential tools for the publicity game are an easy way with easy women and a big front. There can no longer be any doubt that every advertising and radio man is a big, bad wolf. Now let's hope the hunting season is over.

G. B. Stern's pleasant and leisurely *The Reasonable Shores,* (Macmillan, $3.00), deals with an English family, upset by a mother's eloping. She leaves a husband, grown children and the principal character, a daughter of 15, to battle with life. It is typically English with conversation on hens and eggs, gooseberry pie and pillowcases. The characterization is good; the plot, if any, thin and the dialogue trite.

• "There has been some economic unrest in the United States. Some of it has crept into Maine", editorial in a Maine paper.
(And Vermont?)

• The driver had fallen asleep at the wheel and soon found himself in the living room of a small house. He surveyed the situation and mumbled in an embarrassed tone: 'Can you tell me the way to Flemington?"

"The farmer's wife replied coldly: "Straight ahead through the china cabinet and bear left at the grand piano".

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

BERNARD Shaw celebrated his ninetieth birthday this summer. More accurately, it was celebrated for him. Like the pilgrims of old, the literati flocked to the shrine of Ayot St. Lawrence, drawing a shaft from G. B. S.: "They've come to see the animal just because he's 90". Their adulation made him remark: "All my life affection has been showered on me, and every forward step I took has been taken in spite of it." Perhaps he had forgotten the first 40 years when he was incapable of earning a living by writing; the decades when he was indulgently dismissed as a clown and paradoxist. During the first World War, he had lost many friends for his anti-militarist, anti-imperialist stand and was roundly denounced by Henry Arthur Jones. In the post-war years, he outraged the Tories by his championship of Soviet Russia; in the pre-World War II days, he outraged a new generation of radicals by having kind words for Mussolini and treating Hitler too gently. He was irritated with the fumbling of the Labor party, disgusted with the stupidity of the masses that didn't know where their best interests lay and willing to let strong hard-hearted men have a fling at cleaning up the mess that had been made by weak, soft-headed parliamentarians. Perhaps, however, he had not forgotten these days but was merely keeping his tongue in his cheek. He had been loved only as a gad-fly could be loved because that had been his rôle for half a century.

It is true that he had never lacked a small circle of friends who loved him when they disagreed with him and among these could be counted great contemporaries like Gilbert Murray, Beatrice and Sidney Webb and H. G. Wells. It is true that tributes to him for this or that accomplishment or attitude had never been wanting. Some praised his wit; some, his style and an increasing, though still small, number of critics were even willing to concede that he was a good playwright. Some people even liked his politics, when he remained in one spot long enough for them to know what his politics was, or when they were unimaginative enough to believe that they knew his politics. Now, at 90, he could be liked by everybody, a fact that must have disturbed him considerably, especially since he couldn't stop the love-feast. He could be loved now because he was a personality, "a character", and the world loves a character, especially once he is more or less removed from the field of battle. And, unfortunately, he could also be praised by the experts, since there wasn't a

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subject touched by him which he hadn't illuminated. Admiration for him could be concrete as well as general. In New York, the birthday party heard from the experts, from literary, dramatic and music critics; from the Theatre Guild which had produced him in America; from Dodd, Mead and Company which had published him and now promised to re-issue all his work, and from his fellow-playwright, Maxwell Anderson, who read an intelligent essay. The one discordant note came from Henry Seidel Canby of *The Saturday Review of Literature* who still didn't believe that Shaw was a good playwright and doubted that his plays would live.

The birthday was also the occasion for Dodd, Mead and Company's release of a book, a *Festschrift* entitled *G. B. S. 90,* edited by S. Winsten. It gave an appraisal of aspects of his life and work, perhaps not altogether inspired but far more detailed and considered than the birthday oratory. It even included pieces by J. B. Priestly on Shaw as a social critic, J. D. Bernal on Shaw as a "scientist", C. E. M. Joad on Shaw's philosophy, and Dean Inge on "Shaw as Theologian". Whatever else may be said about the book, and some of the classifications of Shaw's genius are rather amusing when given academic terminology, it can be set down as required reading for this nation's and England's playwrights to whom it never seems to occur that a playwright should be anything else than a playwright—that good plays cannot be written in an intellectual and spiritual void.

It is more probable, however, that the birthday present which pleased G. B. S. most, since it had his indispensable permission, was Penguin Book's publication of *Major Barbara, Pygmalion* and *Saint Joan.* In these editions of some of his plays and prefaces, he could speak for himself, and no one has been able to speak more lucidly and effectively for Shaw than Shaw himself. A cynical fellow might add that a lot of people could also have spared themselves the effort of praising G. B. S., since he had done that, too, so well himself. Hadn't he at one time suggested that he was as good as Shakespeare and in some respects his superior? (N. B.—And he is — in prose! But Shakespeare didn't write much prose!) Besides, the Penguin editions were intended for mass consumption. Shaw, who has never had the slightest patience with the art-for-art's sake theory, must have been perfectly satisfied to accept the pittance of royalties derivable from 25 cent volumes, so long as these enlarged his public. His only life-time ambition has been to be heard whether from the Hyde Park soap-box of his youth or from the covers of his latest book or latest letter to the London *Times.* (What a radio commentator he would have made for the British Broadcasting Company!) He has been invincible in his belief that the only passion worthy of a man, and of a man of letters, was "moral passion".

His sanctioning of the Penguin publications can come as a surprise only to those people who have unreflectingly chuckled over the fact that the veteran socialist should drive such hard bargains with pub-

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lishers and producers and should be such a stickler for royalties. The truth is that he has actually afforded them no comfort for their bourgeois sensibilities. He has merely maintained that in a money-minded and money-conditioned society, in which everybody tries for the largest possible reward for his work, the artist should not let himself be fobbed off with intangibles. When the "New Deal" Federal Theatre wanted to produce his plays at popular prices, Shaw did not hesitate to give his permission for a nominal weekly payment of 50 dollars. "As long as you stick to your 55 cent maximum for admission," he wrote the Federal Theatre in April 1937, "you can play anything of mine you like unless you hear from me to the contrary. Any author of serious plays who does not follow my example does not know what is good for him. I am not making a public-spirited sacrifice; I am jumping at an unprecedently good offer." It was characteristic of Shaw not to make the W. P. A. theatre project feel that it was getting charity. No one has ever known so well how to help people without patronizing them.

An interesting feature of the Penguin publications is that *Major Barbara* is the screen version of the film produced by Gabriel Pascal in England. (I cannot vouch for the authenticity of the story, but it is reported that Shaw, who had spurned all previous film offers, was won over when Pascal, who had come to get his permission to make *Pygmalion,* asked him for the loan of a pound with which to get back to London. If Pascal had told G. B. S. that he had millions in the bank with which to make the picture, it would have gone badly for Mr. Pascal. It went badly for the great Goldwyn who tried to bargain for terms by impressing Shaw with his esthetic interest. G. B. S. is said to have replied that they couldn't arrive at an agreement because "you are interested only in art, and I am interested only in money.") When *Pygmalion* was filmed, Shaw, who insisted on being his own exclusive scenarist, was obstinate about adding anything to the original comedy. It was his understanding with Pascal that the play was to be merely transcribed for the screen,—without Hollywood "beauty parlour" treatment. He finally consented only to the addition of two scenes. However, for the second film, *Major Barbara,* Shaw wrote no less than 16 new sequences, although only six of them could be included because of "running-time" considerations. Shaw, who has taken such keen interest in the production of his plays that he has written lengthy stage directions and has often given minute instructions to actors and producers in England and America, began to exhibit the same concern for the proper realization of his work on the screen. The excellence of the *Pygmalion* and *Major Barbara* films amply rewarded his admirable sense of responsibility to his work. It is improbable that Pascal's just released and far less successful third Shavian film, *Caesar and Cleopatra* —with Claude Rains playing Caesar and Vivian Leigh, the rôle of the Egyptian strumpet — has had the benefit of the aged author's active

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supervision. Pascal is correct, if somewhat vain, in writing that "G. B. S. would have been the greatest scenario writer for the screen if I had met him 25 years earlier."

In any case, the screen version of *Major Barbara* is the most readable, as well as most intelligent, screen play yet published. The best features of the original play and of a remarkable film are combined in the scenario. And, as if this weren't enough for any of us, the excellent *Major Barbara* preface, revised in 1944 to take account of the film version is included. Like virtually all of the Shavian prefaces, it is a masterpiece of English prose. For its equal, we have to go back to the eighteenth century, to Jonathan Swift, with whom Shaw has so much in common, although the Dublin dean's *saevo indignatio* is transmuted into the more genial passion and less painful satire characteristic of the Shavian method of flaying human stupidity.

The *Major Barbara* prefatory essay, aptly subtitled "The Gospel of St. Andrew Undershaft", reminds us once more that, in spite of peregrinations around virtually every interest and concern, in any *self-limited argument,* Shaw has always put first things first. This is the secret of simplification known only to men of genius. This is also foolhardy, at times. It gets unusual people into trouble, when it doesn't catapult them to success. For a human being to be so downright logical is sensational, and I am prepared to say that it is this remarkable habit, rather than Shaw's witticisms, that has made Shaw the great personality that he is. It drew attention to him even when his public didn't quite know why it was attracted. He was never a mountebank. He was merely going to the heart of a matter like the eighteenth century masters from whom he learned — Mozart, Swift, Lord Chesterfield, Voltaire; and like the nineteenth century leaders — Nietzsche, Ibsen, Henry George, Marx and Samuel Butler, to whom he pays tribute in the *Major Barbara* essay.

In this preface to his Salvation Army comedy, Shaw starts out with the simple premise that poverty is the root of all evil: "In the millionaire Undershaft, I have represented a man who has become intellectually and spiritually, as well as practically, conscious of the irresistible natural truth which we all abhor and repudiate: to wit, that the greatest of our evils, and the worst of our crimes is poverty. . ." G. B. S. goes on to show that it poisons the world for even the rich, since all the evils we vainly try to cure arise from the cesspool which we fail to abolish. An "economic deadlock" immobilizes our social service agencies and reform movements, since these must get their subsidy from "tainted money;" that is, from the wealth that breeds on the poverty of those who have to be reformed or helped. The actively evangelical Salvationists try to "fight the devil instead of merely praying at him." But "they have not quite ascertained his correct address". The rest of Shaw's verbal fugue is a series of variations on the theme; of brilliant musical phrases on crime and punishment, "Crosstianity *versus* Christianity," revolution from above and

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revolution from below. He portrays religious bodies as "a sort of auxiliary police taking off the insurrectionary edge of poverty with coals and blankets, bread and treacle". He flails the hypocrisy of charity by means of which economic marauders like the philanthropist—distiller Bodger "can always depend on the Salvation Party or the Church of England to negotiate a redemption for him in consideration of a trifling percentage of his profits".

Then there is the play itself, in which Salvation Army Major Barbara experiences these variations in the course of her reformist-idealistic blundering, and is brought back to the main theme of hard economic fact by that great realist, her father, the munitions-king, Undershaft. And here lies the final sensationalism of the Shavian dialectic: he can indict the world of capitalism and yet make the hero of his indictment an arch-capitalist like Undershaft. This is the secret of comic genius, and, at the heart of it, is common sense so resolutely pursued that it becomes startlingly *uncommon* sense. For Shaw realizes that those who abominate the evils of the system will never prevail until they acquire as much realism—that is, as much comprehension of economic fact—as the Undershafts.

If G. B. S. had visited our shores on his birthday, he might have seen the fruits of his example on Broadway in *State of the Union* and *Born Yesterday*. He might have derived some gratification from the observation that these plays demonstrate that the only modern way of writing successful social comedy is Shavian. It would not escape him, however, that the fruit was still comparatively green. To vary the figure of speech and get to the point, the authors—Messrs. Lindsay and Crouse, and Garson Kanin—can write comic melodies. But only Shaw in our time has been able to write comic fugues which never gave the mind and spirit rest until the final phrase is uttered and the curtain of the last act is brought down. The fact is not not exactly amazing when we consider that, before him, only two playwrights—Molière and Aristophanes—managed to exhibit the same talent. But their world is remote, and his is intensely and frighteningly immediate. His example, therefore, will serve, if our playwrights can learn from it. But, first of all, they must become full-fledged citizens of the present world, instead of mere hacks with a mental horizon strictly limited to Broadway or reaching no further east than the Stork Club. That, however, will take some thinking and doing.

We saved our money till things got calmer
Now all we can buy is a surplus bomber.

—*Pathfinder*

• Charles Dillon, an executive of the National Association of Letter Carriers, explained that a New York postman isn't entitled to compensation until a dog has bitten him twice as "the first bite is for goodwill".

(That's a fine way to show it!)

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HIGHLIGHTI

The International Scene

As the second session of the Assembly of the United Nations prepares to convene, world attention is focused on the tempestuous progress of recent events. In Paris, the Peace Conference got well under way with the exotic setting of the Luxembourg Palace as a meeting ground for the opposing philosophies of Russian communism and Western democracy. In Turkey, a vote is cast and a precedent established; in Bolivia, a man is hung; in Palestine, a curfew is imposed; a choice is made in the Philippines. All these kaleidoscopic fragments work into a vari-colored pattern of trends in the International Scene.

OPPONENTS IN THE RING

The Paris Peace Conference finally settled down to work on July 29, 1946, with 21 nations represented. The conference, an advisory body to the Big Four, had on its agenda the consideration of the peace treaties for Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland. The outcome of these decisions is of interest as a possible precedent for treaties with Germany and Japan. It will also be an indication of decisions on the most important issues of the day: Russian aims and the future of the atom bomb.

As the conference continued two themes became noticeable. The small nations of the conference, led by Dr. Herbert V. Evatt of Australia, were determined that they should have an equal share in the decisions since they had sacrificed proportionally as much as the larger powers during the recent war. And, persistently, there emerged in the conference sessions a feeling of suspicion, distrust and misunderstanding between Russia and the West, notably the United States.

The two themes were both evident in the question of adopting recommendations by a two-thirds or a simple majority vote. The Russian delegation, led by Foreign Minister Molotov, desired the two-thirds vote. As Russia controlled six votes and the votes of several other communist-controlled countries, she could be sure of stifling any unfavorable decision. Russia maintained that the western nations desired the simple majority vote because they could muster the necessary number without Russian approval. The small countries, meanwhile, wanted the majority vote since it gave them some chance of equality in the coming struggle.

Finally a British compromise was accepted. Recommendations of the plenary conference shall be of two kinds: (1) Those adopted by two-thirds of the members. (2) Those adopted by more than one-half and less than two-thirds. Both types will be submitted to the Council of Foreign Ministers for consideration.

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Over the objections of the small powers, it was decided that the chairmanship will rotate among the Big Four. However, the small powers are heading the nine committees: one for each treaty, two economic committees, military and drafting groups.

Freedom of the press became an issue between Secretary Byrnes and Foreign Minister Molotov who was accused of "impugning the motives of his colleagues."

There are 26 points of dispute to be settled by the conference. Those issues already unanimously agreed upon by the Big Four will probably not be revised. Some of these 26 issues are: (1) the exact frontiers of the "Free Territory of Trieste", (2) reparations for non-Russian states, (3) the important problem of trade on the Danube, and (4) the Bulgarian desire for a channel to the Aegean through Greek territory.

APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION

As the delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations wend their way toward New York for their second meeting, September 23, nine nations watch with intense interest. Afghanistan, Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Trans-Jordan, Eire, Portugal, Iceland, Siam and Sweden all met the application deadline for membership to the United Nations.

According to the Charter of the United Nations, membership is reserved to "peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter, and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic will probably be supported in their request by Soviet Russia. Neither the United States nor Britain has recognized the Albanian regime of Colonel General Enver Hoxha, Premier of Albania. Greece has protested the application of Albania, feeling that the persecution of the Grecian populace of Northern Epirus by the Albanian government, the existence of concentration camps for Greeks deported to northern Albania, and the plundering raids and attacks in force by Albanians since 1940 are good proof that Albania is anything but a peace-loving nation.

Afghanistan is supported in her request by Great Britain and the United States. However, in attempting to win Russian support, she learned that Russia feels Afghanistan is Britain's answer to Russia's support of Albania.

Trans-Jordan, newly independent, applied for membership June 26 and, if admitted, will be, with the exception of Yemen, the last of the states in the Arab League to join the United Nations.

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China has challenged the admittance of the Mongolian People's Republic because so little is known of the policies of the young Soviet-backed state.

The struggle over boundaries between French Indo-China and Siam, discussed further on, would indicate a possible veto by France, thus ruining Siam's chances for membership.

It is becoming obvious that admittance to membership in the United Nations is going to be a strenuous affair for several of the applicants.

REVERBERATIONS IN INDONESIA

The United Nations received its first plea for assistance made by a non-member of the assembly when Direk Jayanam, Siamese Foreign Minister, wrote to the Secretary General of the United Nations on July 15: . . ."The Government of Siam . . . [brings] to the attention of the Security Council . . . those matters in dispute between . . . France and . . . Siam which threaten the preservation of peace between the two countries. . . . Siam . . . agrees to accept any solution proposed by the Security Council . . . Siam now formally requests Your Excellency to place the dispute between France and Siam upon the agenda of the Security Council".

"Those matters in dispute", better described as some 20,000 square miles of territory along the Mekong River separating French Indo-China from Siam, have been an issue since 1941, when the Vichy government of France, under Japanese pressure, ceded the land to pro-Japanese Siam. The Siamese claimed the land on historical grounds but actually it constituted a Japanese gift in preparation for eventual Japanese domination.

France, rejecting all territorial cessions made during the Vichy regime, has steadfastly opposed Siamese possession. In May, 800 French troops attacked the Siamese village of Nong Khai near the border; Siam described the raid as aggression, France as operations against Siamese irregulars who had violated Indo-Chinese territory.

Siam, in her opposition to one of the Big Five will soon discover, as will other interested small countries, the effectiveness of France's veto power as authorized by the United Nations Charter and concurrently the effectiveness of the United Nations in preserving world peace.

ECONOMIC UNITY FOR GERMANY?

On August 2, 1945, after a three-weeks conference at Potsdam, President Truman, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee stated in their report that "during the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit". Economic recovery necessitated free trading between the four occupation zones. This decision, however, was disregarded when the actual occupation began. Both France and Russia desired dismemberment and disunity. Both jealously guarded the borders of their zones.

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The United States, realizing the failure of the initial decision, worked on a plan for uniting the American zone economically with any or all other zones. On July 29, 1946, Britain agreed to the plan in principle. France and Russia opposed it.

The plan calls for six central agencies: Foreign Trade, Industry, Food and Agriculture, Finance, Communications and Posts. These are planned to coordinate, if possible, all four zones in Germany. The plan will require 1,795 officials and clerks, and a budget of $1,440,000.

PALESTINE, FOCAL POINT

The question of the ultimate future of Palestine and the bitter dispute between the Jews and Arabs has become vitally interesting to Britain and to the United States. During the last month, President Truman has been conferring with advisers on the British plan for the federalization of Palestine into three separate areas. This plan was the result of weeks of negotiation by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, which implemented the recommendations of the Joint Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.

In Britain, the English were contemplating concessionary revisions in the federalization plan. There are indications, however, that if the plan fails the British will inaugurate a new Palestinian policy, regardless of Palestine tensions. Meanwhile, the tide of illegal Jewish immigration into Palestine has swelled to the point where the British are planning large-scale methods for forced interception, search and arrest of vessels purportedly carrying refugees toward Palestine.

Members of the Jewish Executive Agency for Palestine meeting in Paris consider the Anglo-American plan for division "unacceptable." And Arabic leaders in Cairo, meeting with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, also reject the plan and think of turning to Russia.

Meanwhile, Palestine herself is torn with civil strife and bitter revolt against British rule. The bombing of the King David Hotel and the subsequent strict curfew in Tel Aviv during which 20,000 British troops rounded up Jewish extremist suspects served to emphasize the need of immediate compromise on the part of disatisfied factions.

It is hoped that a satisfactory compromise may be reached in the Arab-Jewish conference to be held in London before the second session of the Assembly of the United Nations.

TURKEY FACES WEST

Turkey emerges as the first state voluntarily to relax authoritarian controls since the end of the war. Many of the countries of Europe have turned to communist dictatorial methods as a way out of national dilemmas or because of outside pressure. Turkey, wishing to strengthen her ties with Western democratic powers in the face of possible Russian aggression, held her first free, democratic election with secret balloting on July 21.

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The present Republic of Turkey emerged as an entity in 1923, shaking off the shackles of the old Ottoman Empire and electing as its first president, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Reforms were made, with polygamy and slavery abolished; the women were unveiled and church and state separated. In 1938, on the death of President Ataturk, President Ismet Inonu continued the program of reform, though the political life of the country was ruled by the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, the People's party. This party presented only one slate of names to the voters on election days and the National Assembly, thus elected, chose the president.

Last fall, for the first time, opposition parties were allowed to function, and, on July 21, the people voted in a free election accompanied by uncensored electioneering in the press and on the streets. The People's party was opposed by the wealthy and middle classes posing as champions of democracy. But both parties were firm in their stand to maintain Turkish territorial integrity in the face of Russia's growing and avid interest in the Straits and the eastern provinces.

With a solid peasant backing, the People's party gained 396 of the seats in the National Assembly; the Democratic party, 62; and the independents, 7.

Meanwhile Russia, recognizing Turkish government strategy, backed the Democratic party. She wanted Turkey to remain a one-party country and realized that strong support of a party in Soviet-suspicious Turkey would cause the downfall of the favored group.

PHILIPPINE COMPROMISE

The world's youngest republic hiked up its diapers and crawled over its first obstacle when President Manuel Roxas arranged for a compromise commission composed of five landlords, ten sharecroppers, two congressmen and Roxas to study the cause of the fierce revolt carried on by Hukbalahap guerrilla gangs.

A fair share of the valuable flat rice paddies of central Luzon, Philippine breadbasket, is the goal of the tenant farmers whose every previous battle has ended in fewer owners and more sharecroppers.

In four hours, everyone was satisfied. Without bloodshed, the landlords had agreed to give up 55 per cent of the crop and to provide tools and carabaos. Roxas was acclaimed for his swift action against lawlessness, and the Huks were happy over a better agreement than they had hoped to win by fighting.

SOUTHERN VIOLENCE

Trying economic conditions due to post-war inflation and the cessation of American goods and money as well as psychological pressures imposed on the South American continent by the successful election of Juan D. Perón in Argentina boiled to a head in Bolivia on July 21.

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Twelve thousand feet above sea level in an Andean valley, liberal forces, workers, students and teachers of Bolivia wrested power from the government of Major Gualberto Villarroel. Villaroel had gained supreme power in La Paz in December, 1943, by a military coup. Suspected of friendship with the militarist junta in Argentina at that time, Bolivia was not recognized by the United States until she was certain that Bolivia would continue to carry out her commitments to the Allies.

Revolts were ruthlessly suppressed until Sunday, July 21, 1946. On this day, students and workers attacked the Presidential Palace, gained possession of the premises, threw the murdered dictator over a balcony and later strung him up on a lamp post.

A leftist government was immediately established, headed by Nestor Guillen, dean of the Supreme Court for the La Paz district. The provisional junta is composed of representatives of students, teachers, and Federation of Labor syndicates. Although dedicated to such liberal ideas as free elections, the restoration of civil liberties, freedom of the press, the release of all political prisoners and an invitation to political exiles to return to Bolivia, the new government faces Bolivia's time-worn economic and political handicaps. Bolivian Indians, forming more than half of the worker population, are poorly paid, poorly fed and poorly clothed and work in industries whose ownership is jealously guarded by the few. A program of real betterment might take years.

The Domestic Scene

The swift pace of the country gradually began to abate as the anniversary of V-J Day rolled around. Symbolic of the holiday from weighty domestic problems was the quiet city of Washington. The Seventy-ninth Congress had folded its tent and as noisily clamored away. Its stormy history was over, and not until January would the Eightieth Congress assemble. The fate of price control had been decided, and people wondered uneasily whether they were now experiencing all-out inflation or if things would get even worse before they got better. The prophets of gloom were dumbfounded to discover that instead of 8,000,000 unemployed after the war's end, the country was actually facing a manpower shortage. Production records surpassed all former peace-time marks and appeared to be outstripping war-time records. The major labor unions had decided that the best way to beat the threat to their earnings was not to strike for higher wages but to work for increased production. The one common topic of conversation was the desperate housing situation; one field which remained as bad, if not worse, than it was a year ago. Yet in general peace was upon the land, and the people thought it good.

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But beneath the calm exterior, the running sores of deep political clashes and racial strife showed that the body politic was suffering from deep-rooted trouble.

THE GREAT AMERICAN PASTIME

Most of the members of Congress didn't go home for a five-months' vacation. Some had harder work cut out for them than they had experienced in the legislative chambers. Summer was the time of the primaries, and many congressmen had to plead with their constituents to let them use their round-trip ticket back to the capital.

One of the primaries which captured the nation's interest involved a Missouri congressional district. Time after time President Truman had seen his legislative program blocked by the Representative of the Fifth Missouri District, Roger C. Slaughter, who had a strong position on the powerful House Rules Committee. The President put the issue to the voters in forthright terms; "If he's right, I'm wrong."

This might have been a grave political mistake for the President, since his falling prestige would slip another notch if the voters decided that their hearts belonged with Slaughter. Those who remembered the late President Roosevelt's blunder in his 1938 "purge" campaign shook their heads. But perhaps Truman remembered that the one success that Roosevelt had in his purge was with a member of the Rules Committee who, like Slaughter, had repeatedly blocked the administration's program.

Mr. Truman's candidate, 37-year-old Enos Axtell, a war veteran and political newcomer, was nominated by a 2,783-vote margin, and the Chief Executive's gamble paid off.

In other primaries, Senator Byrd and Representative Smith won easy renomination in Virginia. Senator Kilgore was successful in West Virginia. All of Kentucky's eight representatives, including Andrew May, were renominated in the Democratic primaries.

In Georgia, a freak election gave the governorship to Eugene Talmadge, even though his opponent, progressive James Carmichael, polled 9,661 more votes. An indication of what's wrong with the South could be found in the fact that the urban areas with good educational facilities decisively rejected Talmadge, while the rural impoverished counties went all-out for the "white supremacy" candidate.

In Montana, despite President Truman's lukewarm backing, Burton K. Wheeler lost to 40-year-old Lief Erickson, ex-state Supreme Court judge, who is a little left of center and a reputed internationalist.

Even by the end of August no clear pattern emerged from the primaries. Nobody was willing to make dogmatic predictions as to the November outcome. Two main unanswered questions were: "Will the Republicans gain control of the House for the first time since 1928?"; and, "How strong is the P.A.C.?"

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The P.A.C. has had a checkered career this summer. Analysis is even more difficult because nobody knows whether a defeated candidate would have been beaten without P.A.C. opposition or elected without its support. Thus, in Missouri, Slaughter was strongly opposed by this organization, but in the adjacent congressional district the candidate favored by the P.A.C. was defeated. Senator Byrd made the strong point of his campaign the fact that he was opposed by the P.A.C., and Byrd won easily. However, in many large cities in Virginia which Byrd has hitherto carried and in which the workers are organized, he came out on the short end.

Senator Kilgore had P.A.C. backing and won, but the United Mine Workers refused to take sides in the Democratic primary and are backing the Republicans in the fall contest; so tough sledding is ahead for the incumbent.

The major P.A.C. defeats were the election of Talmadge of Georgia and McKellar in Tennessee. Yet even this proves little, since the majority of the people voted against Talmadge, and McKellar had the support of the all-powerful Crump machine. The P.A.C. claims credit for helping defeat Wheeler, but many dispute this boast.

Only one thing seems plain. All eyes will be on the November elections as a sure indication of which party will control the White House in 1948. Only twice in our nation's history has the party winning control of Congress in off-season elections failed to carry the general elections two years later.

BLACK, WHITE AND BLOOD RED

Nobody felt unhappier about the Talmadge election than many intelligent Southerners. And his election speech did nothing to ease their minds. Said "Old Gene": "The only thing wrong with Negroes in Georgia is that they have been listening to communist doctrines from outside. We'll get along all right with the Negroes. Their best friends are the Southern white men and most of them know it."

The white man, however, had a strange way of showing his friendship. Barely two weeks after "white supremacy" came out on top in Georgia, the state which, in the last several years, had tried desperately to redeem its reputation lost it in one day with the lynching of two Negroes and their wives.

Near Monroe, Georgia, "Judge Lynch" supplanted the Fourteenth Amendment. A colored farmhand, Roger Malcolm, had been jailed two weeks before on charges of stabbing (not fatally) a white man. A local white farmer, Loy Harrison, needed Malcolm to work on the farm and obtained a $600 bail for him. Harrison was driving the released man and three other workers—an ex-serviceman, and the men's two wives—to his farm when, on a lonely swamp road, a mob of 20 white men stopped the car. It appeared that at first they were only interested in the two men, but one of the wives, making a plea for her husband's life, called the mob

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leader by name. The dangerous admission that she knew at least one member of the gang proved her undoing, and three volleys from rifles, shotguns and pistols murdered the four.

Governor Arnall offered $10,000 for information leading to the arrest of the guilty men and used all the resources of his state for solving the murders. Within a week, the aggregate rewards offered were $30,000. But no information was forthcoming. The federal Justice Department took up the matter but could get nowhere. People just weren't talking.

Although the most spectacular of recent southern lynchings, this was not an isolated case. The day after the primaries, one Negro who had the nerve to vote received a visit from four white men and was found shot to death. In Tennessee the body of a Negro, falsely accused of stealing a saddle, was found floating in the scum of a bayou, after he had been beaten to death with an inch-thick unstranded rope.

When governor-elect Talmadge heard of the Monroe scandal, he piously regretted the incident but blamed it on the policies of Governor Arnall and claimed that during his three terms Georgia never had a lynching. People with long memories, however, were quick to give him the lie. During his rule, the state had 14 such cases.

BULLETS FOR BALLOTS

The "Friendly City" of Athens, Tennessee, was split wide open on August 1. For 10 years the Democratic machine, run by State Senator Cantrell and County Sheriff Mansfield, controlled the town of 6,930. Three weeks before *l'affaire* Athens, *The Congressional Record* contained a statement that the local machine "is the most shocking example of brutal bossism that has ever before challenged public opinion".

People, however, finally decided to challenge the powers that be, and D-Day was the date of the crucial Democratic primaries. The machine was opposed by a G.I. Nonpartisan League, which put up a slate composed of all former G.I.'s. The upstarts included everybody from a Navy lieutenant commander to an ex-sergeant, who was running for the key post of sheriff.

The local politicians had long established a tradition of counting the ballot behind closed doors, with only machine trustees on hand. As hints grew that the veterans might not appreciate this local custom, Sheriff Mansfield swore in 300 armed special deputies, some from out of state, to "guard" the ballot boxes.

After the polling places had closed, action started. The election deputies forcefully removed a G.I. representative when he insisted on watching the ballot counting. Armed deputies took two ballot boxes to the county jail for counting, refusing to permit veteran observers to be on hand.

This led to a six-hour armed battle, in which 18 persons were injured as former servicemen stormed the jail with rifles, pistols and even one mach-

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ine gun. Finally the sheriff and his deputies surrendered, and the machine quickly fled. The following afternoon, as armed veterans patrolled the town, the Secretary of the Elections Commission, himself a machine man, informed the town that the G.I. slate had won. A three-man emergency council was elected to take over until the term of the newcomers started. This committee consisted of a Methodist minister and two prominent businessmen. Said the minister, "I am prouder of my community today than I have been at any time since I came here."

The victors were not slow in announcing their intentions of reforming the local political situation. One of their major reforms will be to turn back to the county treasury all fees they receive in excess of $5,000 a year. The fee system, still prevailing in Tennessee as the legal means of paying most county officials, is reported to have netted Sheriff Mansfield $104,000 in four years, and his first deputy received $10,000 in a single year. The veterans will try instead to put the officials on a fixed salary. As vital as these reforms are, the nation wondered how far the ends justified the means.

OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

Ten days after Athens, Tennessee, made the headlines, Athens, Alabama, a rural town of 6,000, added to the South's bad record. A fist fight between two white men and a Negro ended in a race riot in which white mobs, estimated to have reached at one time a total of 2,000 men, injured some 100 Negroes. Many, including old and crippled persons, were knocked down and trampled.

Because the uprising was so sudden, order was shortly restored as state police rushed to the scene. Lack of organization and weapons prevented lynchings. Only one of the many persons searched had a pistol.

Nine white men, described by the local judge as "hoodlum leaders of the mob", were arrested on charges of "unlawful assembly". Eight of the nine were teen-agers, and the youngest, aged 13, according to the judge, "carried a club and knocked Negroes down".

ECONOMY COMES TO WASHINGTON

Hope of balancing the federal budget grew faint when veto-conscious congressmen passed the $2,400,000,000 terminal leave pay bill for servicemen. But the President was still trying hard, although he remarked plaintively that without the bill there would have been a budget surplus this year.

One way the administration plans to achieve a balanced budget is to cut to the bone all federal expenses. On August 3, the President announced the most vigorous federal economy program since the Hoover administration. He resorted to his personal power over cabinet members to achieve departmental economy promises of $2,200,000,000.

Both federal revenue and federal expenditures have turned out to be more than administration leaders anticipated. In January it was estimated that receipts would be $31,500,000,000; actually they are $39,600,000,000.

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To curb any optimism, however, the President reported that expenditures, estimated at $36,000,000,000, are going to be around $41,500,000,000. Since the actual revenue increase over the estimate revenue is greater than the actual expenditure increase, the current estimated deficit has dropped from $4,500,000,000 to $1,900,000,000. The President believes, therefore, that the federal debt on June 30, 1947, will be $261,000,000,000 instead of the January estimate of $271,000,000,000.

The President had two motives in mind when he ordered the drastic federal expenditure reductions. One was to achieve a balanced budget. The other was to lessen inflationary pressure by having the government spend as little money as possible. The second of these aims was aided when John Steelman, Reconversion Director, acting in accordance with his chief's program, ordered a 56-day moratorium on new federal construction. Citing "a strong inflationary threat to the stability of the American economy", Steelman cut the current public works program by $700,000,000. Until October 1 no new contract for construction can be awarded by any government agency without the express permission of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

OIL IN THE WATERS

The Interior Department was convinced that the United States owned the three-mile zone of land beneath the oceans; the states held that they were owners. In May, 1945, President Truman requested the Justice Department to bring suit in the Supreme Court to determine to whom the land, and its rich oil deposits, belongs.

The states, however, were not anxious to have the Supreme Court decide the issue. They felt they could get a more sympathetic audience in the halls of Congress; they pressed Congress to pass legislation giving the states clear title to the land and thus remove the controversy from the jurisdiction of the Court.

Issues are always more exciting when two colorful figures, protagonists for the contending sides, clash. And that is what happened when Harold Ickes loudly protested the nomination of Pauley, who was thought to have been one of the chief lobbyist for the states and oil interests. The fight over the nomination grew so acrimonious that President Truman asked Ickes to leave his Cabinet and withdrew the nomination of his good friend, Pauley.

The deeper issue of the tidelands ownership remained in doubt. On July 27, the Senate passed the bill giving title of the land to the states. But President Truman vetoed the bill. The House sustained the veto, so the issue is still in doubt, and will only be settled when the Supreme Court sits for its next term.

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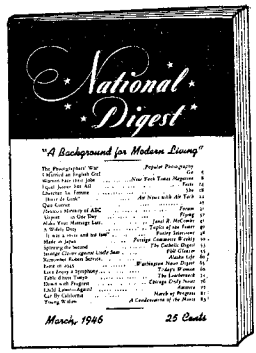

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FORUM FEATURES

The third article in FORUM'S series "The Expert in Democracy" is presented by **Mark Starr,** Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and author of many interesting articles printed in FORUM: "Labor's Role in Reconversion" (October, 1945), "Trade Unions: Bureaucratic or Democratic?" (April, 1946). Mr. Starr has recently, as he expresses it, "been processed by the War Department to help labor unions in Japan set up educational classes."

Next month **Otto Kraushaar,** of the Department of Philosophy at Smith College, will present the final article in the series, a discussion of the United Nations Organization.

Melvin Kranzberg writes, "I enlisted in the Signal Corps of the Army and, being a historian, I was sent to study electronics at Catholic University, Johns Hopkins, and Philco Radio Laboratories. Then I was sent to Indiana University, under A.S.T.P., where I studied Turkish and German for three months each. Following that I was sent to the Military Intelligence Training Center and went overseas as an interrogator of German prisoners of war." During combat Mr. Kranzberg was with the 347th Infantry Regiment and after V-J Day was assigned by the Military Intelligence Service to the Seventh Army Interrogation Center. "There," he continues, "I met the Germans whose opinions are quoted in my article on Mikhailovitch."

While overseas Melvin Kranzberg also managed to study at the University of Heidelberg, at the Sorbonne, and the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. Since his return he has been an Instructor in the Harvard Department of History and is now at the Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey.

Is Baruch's plan for the control of the atomic bomb sound? **Joseph Williams** takes the affirmative and recommends that since the Security Council has the veto power, the United States should only disclose the secret of the Atomic Bomb to the Atomic Development Authority. **Morley Dilke** defends the negative position in this month's FORUM.

"Everybody's Bad Bargain," by **Marjorie Foulkrod,** is a discussion of the housing problem, including the chief hazards encountered by the veteran, by the builders and the government. Miss Foulkrod presents a cheerless picture of four years hence when the veteran, taking advantage of the loan-guarantee measures of the G. I. Bill, may owe approximately $9,000 on a mortgage for his house, which has rapidly depreciated and is then worth only $6,500.

Hanson Baldwin, since his graduation from the United States Naval Academy in 1924 and his resignation from the Navy three years later, has become one of the most successful military and naval correspondents. He has been with "The New York Times" since 1929 and Military Editor since 1942. After his trip to the South Pacific battle area in 1942, he wrote a series of Pulitzer prize-winning articles. In addition to writing numerous books, taking part in radio and motion picture productions, Mr. Baldwin covered the Normandy invasion and has now returned from the Atomic Bomb tests, which he discusses in "Bikini Report."

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